

THE STATUS AREAS OF EDINBURGH: A HISTORICAL
ANALYSIS.

GEORGE GORDON

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SUMMARY

During the last fifty years research workers in several fields have shown that spatial segregation of status groups is one of the characteristic features of urban settlements. However, there are still important lacunae in our knowledge of this topic. In particular, few studies have analysed the development of status areas.

This study is concerned with examining the evolution of status areas in the context of Edinburgh. Status areas were defined in three period analyses in 1855, 1914 and 1962. House valuation was adopted as a diagnostic variable and the categorisation of house assessments was assisted by the use of householders' occupational status in 1855 and 1914 and house sale prices in 1962. In each analysis five assessment grades were identified and mapped and the value distributions described and analysed. The relationship to other morphological components such as industry and green space was discussed. The occupational data provided an additional socio-economic component in the first two analyses. In an attempt to trace the development of status areas, the time scale of the study was extended by use of historical sources of data which permitted a tentative construction of the socio-economic character of residential areas in Edinburgh between 1100 and 1855.

Distinct spatial segregation by social status became a feature of the urban structure with the growth of

the city after the middle of the eighteenth century.

In 1855, a complex pattern of status areas was identified in which the principal high status districts were located in the New Town developments. By contrast, the Old Town and the lands of Bristo-St. Leon rds, Fountainbridge and Greenside formed the main low status districts.

In 1914, commercial invasion had affected the New Town areas whilst considerable tracts of new housing added further components to the pattern. The largest Grade I district was now the extended Western Extension and the Moray development. A large lower class zone extended from Gorgie to Leith separating the Georgian districts from a villa area at Grange ridge.

By 1962, growth, internal re-organisation, subdivision of large properties and the emergence of large homogeneous suburban estates introduced further ramifications into the structure. Moreover, one quarter of the dwellings were now local authority houses, most of which were located in peripheral areas. The changes between 1855 and 1962 were summarised and factors influencing the development of the status areas were examined. The role of the speculative builder was studied by means of a series of interviews with executives of building firms. Finally, the form, and processes, of development of status areas in Edinburgh was compared with other studies of residential structure and models of urban land use. In this comparison, the differences and similarities were examined and discussed. Problems related to developmental studies were reviewed and possible avenues for further research indicated.

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"Each district (of Edinburgh) was identifiable by its economic use and dominant occupation, its range of land values and rents, its style of building and social reputation" (at the middle of the nineteenth century).

L. J. SAUNDERS.

"The interiors of all those imposing Georgian and Regency houses had a dreary similarity -- the upper and middle classes (at the end of the nineteenth century) were divided up into sets and cliques more sharply defined than anywhere else in the country and to an extent quite unknown today (C.1960). Even the members of the Bar and of the Society of "riters to the Signet were portioned up into exclusive groups according to their social background"

CHARLES WARR.

"Suburban Edinburgh nevertheless houses as wide a range of social groups as do the older quarters. And almost deliberately, in spite of pervasive location of Corporation housing estates, the tendency persists for each category of the population to occupy a whole district to which it gives a distinct and uniform character (in the 1960's). In the Old Town the better off lived literally on top of their social inferiors. In Georgian Edinburgh the poor were still, although more discreetly, the neighbours of the rich. Segregation began in the nineteenth century, but not until the 1920's did open development allow of the creation of coherent areas of development not only housing one social stratum of the City's community but separated by open space. The social distance sufficient to keep the inhabitants of Rose Street and Jamaica Street a world apart from those of Charlotte Square and Heriot Row has been replaced by physical distance."

THIRD STATISTICAL ACCOUNT OF EDINBURGH.

INTRODUCTION

At the I.G.U. Symposium on Urban Geography held at Lund in 1960 Jones observed that "One of the most intriguing aspects of the characteristic morphological structure of towns is the spatial differentiation which exists with regard to separate status groups within the urban population. At the same time it is perhaps true to say that some quite fundamental research problems are created by the very fact of this differentiation, and in particular problems concerning origins, evolutionary aspects and the processes involved therein."¹

This study is concerned with the investigation of these problems in the specific context of Edinburgh in the hope that a detailed historical analysis of the urban social geography of a major city may shed some light on the processes which create, and alter, status areas.

The presence of a spatial social pattern is widely accepted in geographical writing. Dickinson, for example, states that: "Individuals tend to gravitate not only to areas in which they can compete for a livelihood more efficiently, but to areas populated by others of similar race, interests, culture or economic status --- Consequently, areas of residential segregation are normally defined by the type of housing. --- This

¹. Jones, R. "Segregation in Urban Residential Districts. Examples and Research Problems." in K. Norborg. ed. Proceedings of the I.G.U. Symposium in Urban Geography. Lund 1962 p. 433.

does not mean, of course, that houses are necessarily tenanted in the way originally intended, for with time they become old-fashioned or dilapidated and their status may completely change."²

However, detailed geographical studies of the social status of residential areas are few in number. Indeed the principal British contributions have all occurred within the last twenty years with studies of Belfast,³ Hereford,⁴ Newcastle-under-Lyme⁵ and Sunderland.⁶

Residential segregation, however, was a fundamental component in the writings of the Chicago School of Park,⁷ Burgess⁸ and McKenzie⁹ in the 1920's. In particular, Burgess and McKenzie emphasised the social structure of residential areas and the locational pattern which this produced in urban settlements. The Concentric Circle Hypothesis formulated by Burgess stimulated further research by other workers, including a number of geographers. James, for example, in a study

2. Dickinson, R. City and Region. London 1964 pp. 46-47.
3. Jones, E. A Social Geography of Belfast. London. 1960.
4. Jones, R. "The Social Structure of an English Cathedral City (Hereford)". Unpublished Ph.D. Thesis. University of Wales, 1956.
5. Williams, W. and Herbert, D.T. "The Social Geography of Newcastle-under-Lyme" North Staffs. Journal of Field Studies Vol. 2 1962 p. 108-126.
6. Robson, B. "Urban Analysis. A Study of City Structure with Special Reference to Sunderland" Cambridge 1969.
7. Park, R.E. "Human Ecology". The American Journal of Sociology Vol. 42. 1936 p. 1-15.
8. Burgess, E.W. p. cit. pp. 47-62.
9. McKenzie, R.D. "The Scope of Human Ecology" American Sociological Society Vol. 20 1926 pp. 141-154. See also "Roderick, D. McKenzie on Human Ecology" Edited by A. Hawley. Chicago 1968.

in a study of Vicksburg, defined four residential districts which were socially significant and added that "the arrangement of these four classes may be described in general terms as a series of concentric circles around the commercial core, this simple circular pattern being considerably modified by adjustment to the ridges and valleys."¹⁰

The classical ecologists¹¹ encountered sharp criticism from Davie¹² and Alihan¹³ whilst Hoyt, in his study "The Structure and Growth of Residential Neighbourhoods in American Cities,"¹⁴ concluded that if any geometric pattern applied it was one of sectors rather than concentric circles. However, the fundamental contributions of Hoyt's study resulted from the large number of settlements and factors which were examined and the attempt to inject a developmental dimension into this research field. However, this was restricted by the fact that Hoyt had to depend upon "evidence gleaned from old inhabitants."¹⁵ Nevertheless,

10. James, P. "Vicksburg. A Study in Urban Geography" *Geographical Review* Vol. XXI. April 1931. p. 243.
11. See Robson, B.T. *op. cit.* p. 3-38 for account of development of Human Ecology.
12. Davie, M.R. "The Patterns of Urban Growth" pp. 131-161 in G. Murdoch ed. *Studies in the Science of Society*. New Haven 1938.
13. Alihan, M.A. *Social Ecology: A Critical Analysis*. New York 1938.
14. Hoyt, H. *The Structure and Growth of Residential Neighbourhoods in American Cities*. Washington 1939.
15. Hoyt, H. *op. cit.* p. 114.

by testing the relationship of house rent to other variables Hoyt provided a valuable diagnostic variable for subsequent workers. Moreover the whole study is characterised by the presentation of a wide range of evidence followed by the deductive argument which distinguished it from the empirically more limited constructs of Burgess. Hoyt, for example, offered a predictive model of the direction and growth of the high rent residential sector which other workers could easily test. However, the dependence upon reported evidence for the construction of earlier status patterns, raised doubts about the reliability of the predictive model.

Rent and land values have featured in several subsequent residential studies. Moreover the British studies mentioned above adopted the local tax of house assessment as an equivalent measure. Indeed, they have found a close correlation between house valuations and social status. In Hereford, for example, Jones¹⁶ found that the lack of correlation between these two variables did not exceed 10% whilst Herbert¹⁷ concluded that house valuation was a diagnostic variable which could be used to define spatial elements of the social structure.

However, other approaches to the study of residential areas have also developed. Regions have been

16. Jones, R. 1962 op. cit. p. 434

17. Herbert, D.T. "The Use of Diagnostic Variables in the Analysis of Urban Structure" *Tijdschrift voor Economische en Sociale Geografie* Vol. 58 No. 1 1967. p. 7.

defined using house types in morphological studies such as the towns capes which Thurston¹⁸ identified at St. Albans or the social areas of London's Cocktail Belt which Whitehand¹⁹ described. The availability of Census data in small regions such as Enumeration Districts and the increased use of computers fostered the growth of techniques of Social Area Analysis.²⁰ However, index systems such as that of Shevky-Bell²¹ or the use of factor analysis is impossible in a historical study because of the lack of suitable correlative data. Consequently most British historical analyses have adopted house valuation as a diagnostic variable. The measure has several valuable attributes, in addition to the fact that it is the approximate equivalent of rent or land value statistics which American studies tend to favour. It is derived from statutory principals of valuation and is therefore consistent within a settlement. In addition, it is comprehensive, every house being assessed individually.

In Scotland, valuation records compiled upon the same basic principles which apply today, date from 1850.

18. Thurston, H.B. "The Urban Regions of St. Albans" *Trans. Inst. of Brit. Geog.* Vol. 19 1953 pp. 107-121.
19. Whitehand, J.W.R. "The Settlement Morphology of London's Cocktail Belt" *Tijdschrift voor Economische en Sociale Geografie*. Vol. 58 No. 1 1967 p. 20-27. See also Johnston, R.J. "Residential Structure and Urban Morphology" Unpublished Ph. D. thesis, Monash University, 1966.
20. Cf. Herbert, D.T. "Social Area Analysis: A British Study". *Urban Studies* Vol. 4. 1967. pp. 41-60.
21. Shevky, E. and Bell, W. *Social Area Analysis*. Stanford 1955.

Consequently, this offered reasonable scope for a developmental analysis.

In this study of Edinburgh, three period analyses were conducted using the Valuation data for 1855, 1914 and 1962. The appropriate measure in the respective periods were Yearly Rental, Annual Assessment and Gross Annual Valuation. In addition, the time scale was extended by means of examination of historical texts in an attempt to investigate more fully the origin of status segregation. The 1855 and 1914 Valuation Rolls listed householders' occupations and these were categorised by means of the occupational classification in the 1921 Census. This information, however, was not recorded in the 1962 Valuation Roll but house types and sale prices were used as secondary data sources in an attempt to support the valuation information. This was particularly important in the selection of Valuation grades for mapping and analysis.

In his study of Sunderland, Robson²² advised careful examination of the mid nineteenth century ratings because of doubts related to their consistency and construction. Whilst the same period in this study also demands cautious examination, the presence of occupational data provided an additional test of the consistency in the assessment structure. Moreover, discussions with senior members of the Assessor's Department of Edinburgh Corporation suggested that the basic principles of valuation operative today had also applied in the Victorian era. Thus in all the period analyses, houses were valued on the basis of size and condition and

22. Robson, B. T. op. cit. p. 106.

in relation to market rent. Indeed the 1855 and 1914 valuation statistics were in some senses more accurate than those for 1962 because they were derived from extensive market rent information. By comparison the Assessor in 1962 had to depend to a greater extent on house sale prices and other sources in the estimation of market rent. Whilst these factors complicate a simple equal value comparison across the time scale, they do not in any way prevent ranking comparisons which is the purpose of this study.

The quotations taken from Saunders,²³ Warr²⁴ and Keir,²⁵ suggest that status areas did exist in Edinburgh during the period under study. In analysing the period patterns the concern is also to identify the critical factors and processes which influenced the structure.

23. Saunders, L.J. "The Making of the Scottish Democracy. 1815-1840" p. 89

24. Keir, D. ed. The Third Statistical Account of Scotland. Vol. 15. The City of Edinburgh. 1966 p. 59

25. *ibid* p. 374.

CHAPTER I

PART 1.

The Development of Edinburgh: 1100-1810.

The character of the site has had a profound influence upon the development of Edinburgh. Three forces, vulcanism, tectonic movement and glaciation, have combined to produce a varied landscape. Basically, the land slopes down northwards from the Pentland Hills to the sea but several valleys and ridges and a number of rocky hills interrupt and complicate the pattern, introducing steep slopes which have acted, at various periods, as barriers to urban growth.

The anticline of the Pentland Hills, composed of Silurian and Old Red Sandstone sediments and lavas, provides an impressive backcloth for the city and acts as a barrier on the southern side. Moreover, this has had the effect of channelling routes along the narrow coastal lowland.

Most of Edinburgh stands on rocks from the Calciferous Sandstone Series but, to the east of the city, the Pentland Fault exposed coal-bearing Carboniferous strata in the narrow Midlothian Basin. The Carboniferous period also contributed much of the relief variation of the site of Edinburgh in the form of igneous intrusions and extrusions which erosion subsequently modified to give the hill group of Arthur's Seat, Calton Hill and Castle Rock which influenced the initial development of the settlement. Later Braid Hills, Blackford Hill,

Craiglockhart Hills and Corstorphine Hill were all to play a part in directing the nature of urban growth. Tectonic movements produced a series of ridges which were also influential for the development of the settlement. Finally, the effects of glaciation produced several deep, predominantly west-east orientated valleys, deposited a mask of boulder clay and drift and left a number of lochs which, in general, remained as water covered or badly drained areas until the nineteenth century. Sea level changes associated with glaciation created two areas of flat lowland separated in places by a bluff. Figure I shows the principal landforms which comprise the site of Edinburgh.¹

From the establishment of the settlement until the middle of the eighteenth century, Edinburgh developed within the confines of the crag-and-tail feature dominated by the Castle which was set upon an eroded volcanic plug. It would appear that a civilian settlement became established between the fourth and eleventh centuries.² Certainly by the latter date Edinburgh was an important market centre with the Castle functioning both as a fortress and temporary place of royal residence. Moreover, the status of the settlement was considerably increased when, during the twelfth century, it became a royal burgh for this conferred almost monopolistic

1. For geology and physiography of site of Edinburgh see: Richardson, R. "The Physiography of Edinburgh" Scot. Geog. Mag. Vol. 18, 1902, pp. 338-357; Keir, D. Ed. Third Statistical Account of Scotland. Vol. 15. 1966. pp. 15-17. Peach, G. et al. "The Geology of the Neighbourhood of Edinburgh" 1910. pp. 1-8, 19-76, 324-336
2. There is some debate about the period of origin of Edinburgh. This is succinctly summarised in Keir D. op. cit. p. 11-12.

regional trading rights on the settlement.

The initial morphology would appear to have consisted of a central market place flanked by narrow burgage plots. At an early period, the settlement expanded southwards with the development of West Bow and Grassmarket, whilst at the eastern end of the High Street ridge, the independent burgh of Canongate emerged after the founding of the Abbey of Holyrood.³

To the south of the burgh, a religious quarter gradually occupied part of Lauriston ridge with the monasteries of the Blackfriars and Greyfriars and the Collegiate Church of St. Mary in the Field.

Although physically divorced from the coast, Edinburgh had access to the sea and international trade through the port of Leith. A charter dated 1143 granted the lands of South Leith and the Barony of Restalrig to the De Restalrig family, but permitted Edinburgh the use of the harbour of Leith on the southern bank of the river. Later Leith became the chief port in Scotland when Robert Bruce moved the wool trade from Berwick-on-Tweed to Leith.

Although Edinburgh had always been exposed to attack it was not until the middle of the fifteenth century that the burgh wall was erected. Known as the King's Wall, for the settlement was now the capital and seat of royal residence, the fortification crossed the High Street to the east of the Castle, thereby segregating

3. Early morphology discussed in: Mears, F. "Primitive Edinburgh". Scot. Geog. Mag. Vol. 35. 1919 pp. 298-315 and Robertson, D. et al., "1329-1929" 1929 pp. 353-393.

the civic settlement from the fortress, then descended towards Grassmarket where it adopted an eastward course almost bisecting the south-facing slope of Cowgate valley. At Mint Close the wall ascended the slope to rejoin the main street at the Netherbow which marked the boundary with Canongate. Finally, the houses on the west side of Leith Wynd constituted the last part of the defence.

By 1477 the market and industrial functions of Edinburgh had become so large that the location of these activities were formalised by royal decree. In general, the High Street, Lawnmarket, West Bow and Grassmarket were all given trading roles. Crafts were also allocated areas with St. Mary's wynd at the eastern end of the burgh being set aside for cutlers, smiths, lorimers and lockmakers.

The original morphology had been modified by the invasion of the burgage plots by individual mansions and tenement lands, with access from a network of closes and wynds.

The penultimate decade of the fifteenth century was an important one in determining the future of Leith as a settlement and, in particular, its relationship to Edinburgh. For some time the capital had practised a policy of restriction in relation to Leith as an independent settlement by concentrating upon the development of the harbour and warehouses with the commercial control firmly lodged with Edinburgh merchants. In 1485,

the magistrates of Edinburgh re-inforced this policy by forbidding Edinburgh merchants from taking inhabitants of Leith into partnership. One major disadvantage of Leith as a seaport was the sandbar across the mouth of the river. This obstacle made James IV seek a different location as the base for his large warships, and a small village a mile west of Leith, Newhaven, was chosen as the site for the venture. However, Edinburgh immediately forestalled any challenge to Leith by purchasing the embryonic part of Newhaven in 1510 along with quite a large area of land in North Leith Parish.

Sporadic war with England, the ferment of the Protestant Reformation and the devastation by plague and fevers, combined to make the sixteenth century a period of disruption and unrest. Fear of invasion precipitated the building of the Flodden wall. This fortification incorporated much of the Cowgate development and Kirk o'Field before rejoining the King's Wall at St. Mary's Wynd. However, the significance of this erection lies in the fact that it effectively marked the urban boundary of Edinburgh for more than two hundred years.

Although the span of the seventeenth century witnessed a change in the life and townscape of Edinburgh, the burgh remained within the same boundaries, apart from a slight extension to the wall to incorporate part of Lauriston ridge. Within this comparatively small area, all the business of the administrative, legal and

commercial centre of Scotland had to be performed. As the population increased, so the invasion of burgage plots accelerated and more tenement lands were erected. The High Street was in places little more than a lane, for the open booths associated with the traditional markets had now been joined by more permanent, closed structures which were built against the walls of the Church of St. Giles, the Tolbooth and the tenements flanking the main street. The substantial building in the middle of the street was called the Luckenbooth whilst those flanking the thoroughfare were known as Krames; they were a rather flimsy, multi-storeyed amalgamation of shop and house, in which the craftsmen and merchants practised their skills and conducted their business.

The reproduction of Gordon of Rothiemay's Plan of 1647 (Figure 2) illustrates the character of the settlement with most of the plots covered by tenement lands. In contrast, the Canongate had remained more open with most of the development concentrated into a linear pattern flanking the principal thoroughfare. The extra-mural districts of Wester and Easter P ortsburghare clearly visible as extensions outwith the burgh wall. Both were primarily industrial districts housing artisans and people of lower status who were unable to attain the rank of freeman, or had lost it by default.

With the removal of the court and the royal entourage to London, in 1603, Edinburgh experienced a loss of status. Nevertheless the ensuing decades were a period of progress in the burgh, particularly in the fields of

industry and commerce. When James II ascended the throne, the export trade of Edinburgh still had a medieval appearance founded upon dealings in wool, hides, herring and salted salmon, with the addition of small quantities of rough plaiding. However, the introduction of new import duties and the increased market which union with England had created, offered possibilities which Edinburgh merchants readily grasped. Apart from an expansion of the traditional brewing and milling industries and the commercial developments of new trading links, Edinburgh tended to concentrate upon the organisation of industry and trade for the whole region encompassing much of south-east Scotland.

Whilst Edinburgh did not extend its royalty beyond the Flodden Wall, it did enter into a period of administrative expansion commencing in 1617 with the purchase of the mills and lands of Bonnington near the Water of Leith. A more substantial acquisition was the superiority of North Leith, the Canongate, parts of Broughton and the Pleasance which were purchased, in 1636, from the Earl of Roxburgh. Shortly before the middle of the seventeenth century, the town Council obtained control of the Barony of Wester Portsburgh and, in 1669, the King's Stables area including a number of tan pits and slaughterhouses. As a result, Edinburgh became the superiors (the landowners) of an extensive area around the settlement. Some impression of the extent of these purchases can be gained from Figure 3

which shows the route of the Riding of the Marches of Edinburgh in 1700.⁴ Moreover, the base map which is a reproduction of part of Adair's map of the Lothians, dated 1735, clearly shows the numerous estates in the countryside around Edinburgh.

Throughout the seventeenth century the population was increasing. Malcolm records that "the population, was said to have been about 20,000 in 1707".⁵ In 1722, Blair calculated the total to be almost 40,000 persons, and in 1775, Arnot estimated that the settlement contained 84, 236 inhabitants.⁶ Although the figures were probably inaccurate as Arnot pointed out,⁷ growth was obviously occurring.

This increase was placing added demands upon a restricted supply of houses. One consequence was further intensification of building in the closes and wynds of the High Street and Cowgate and the invasion of some plots in the Canongate but soon building also

4. Anderson, J. "A History of Edinburgh". 1856. p. 142.

5. Malcolm, C.A. in "The Scientific Survey of South-Eastern Scotland". British Association for the Advancement of Science 1951, p. 72.

6. New Statistical Account of Scotland. Vol. I. Edinburghshire. 1845. pp. 649-650.

7. Arnot, H. "The History of Edinburgh from the Earliest Accounts to the Year 1780" 1816 p. 330-333.

spread to virgin sites in the vicinity of the University, as Edger's Plan of 1765, Figure 4, clearly shows.

The unhealthy congested conditions which prevailed within the compass of the burgh walls, with no sanitation and heaps of fuel and waste littering the streets and closes, along with the acute shortage of building land, had concerned the civic authorities for some time. An idea had been mooted of building a new residential area north of the burgh on Bearford's Park astride the Lang Dykes ridge which was within the superiority but outside the royalty of Edinburgh.⁸ James II is credited with the idea, although the Earl of Mar, during his exile in Italy, conceived a plan for a new street on the site of the Lang Dykes with gardens leading down to the Nor' Loch.

However, Edinburgh did not develop the site until the middle of the nineteenth century. In 1752, the Convention of Royal Burghs appointed a commission to investigate the state of Edinburgh and report on the best means of reducing the congestion and improving living conditions. The proposals included the erection of certain public buildings within Edinburgh and the expansion of the royalty to enclose Bearford's Park. Work commenced immediately on the erection

-8. For detailed accounts of proposals for, and, development of the New Town see: Mears, F. and Russell, J. "The New Town of Edinburgh". Book of Old Edinburgh Club. Vol. 22 1938 pp. 167-200 and Vol. 23 1940 pp. 1-37; Youngson, A.J., "The Making of Classical Edinburgh". Edinburgh University Press 1966. pp.1-17.

of the Royal Exchange in an attempt to give a formal focus for commerce but this edifice merely aggravated the housing problem for its erection involved the demolition of several blocks of tenement houses. The Town Council also prepared a charter for royal consideration pleading the case for an expansion of the burgh royalty. This met with fierce opposition from Midlothian landowners who feared an incursion into their domain by the powerful burgh. After some hesitancy Edinburgh elected to proceed with the scheme without royal permission and, in 1763, the foundation stone of the North Bridge was laid, although the structure was not completed for a further nine years. This delay enabled a private residential speculation at George Square, to the south of Bristo, to become established before the Town Council could promote the Lang Dykes development. At the time, this was a source of concern, for sceptics were proclaiming the New Town project impossible because it involved physical separation from the rest of the burgh.

After several centuries of steady growth within the confines of the High Street ridge, the capital now entered a phase of mushroom-like expansion. Not only did the spatial extent of the city and the total number of houses increase substantially but the nature of these residential developments, their distribution and social composition, changed to such a degree that it could justifiably be claimed that a new

settlement was created; a place in which the social classes were more rigidly segregated and the economic disparity between rich and poor was more readily apparent.

There were two remarkably contrasting facets to this new Edinburgh for whilst the age of bold, progressive town planning produced broad, elegant street flanked by spacious houses, the Agricultural and Industrial Revolutions inaugurated the emergence of a large lower class and a demand for low rent housing. One result of the improved methods of farming was the release of a portion of the rural labour force who turned to the expanding cities of Central Scotland for their livelihood. In addition, there was also a rise in the rate of natural population increase resultant on advances in medicine and also upon social factors. Between 1750 and 1811, the number of inhabitants of Edinburgh almost doubled. By 1811, Edinburgh and Leith housed 102,987 persons.

In one aspect of the new industrial era, Edinburgh was ideally located for the main source of power, coal, occurred in the Midlothian Basin. The city was less favourably situated for other raw materials, however, particularly compared to Glasgow and parts of north Lanarkshire. During this period Leith relinquished the position of primacy in Scottish trade to Glasgow although the quantity of cargo handled rose substantially. Indeed, the growth in trade and the trend to larger ships encouraged a phase of dock construction at Leith. The

wide range of imported raw materials made it an attractive processing and manufacturing site with special emphasis on glass, rope, sailcloth, soap and candles but substantial acreages were also devoted to bonded warehouses, cooperages, flourmills and sawmills.

Within Edinburgh much of the industrial development involved the enlargement and re-organisation of the long-established tanning, brewing and printing industries, although there were also new industries such as sugar refining, linen manufacturing and whisky distilling. Apart from a few large concentrations, industries and trades were dispersed throughout the Old Town, the minor streets of the New Town, around Leith Walk and along the old routes from the capital.

Edinburgh may not have been a major industrial centre but it was the financial, legal and commercial focus of Scotland containing the head offices of numerous banks and insurance companies and the residences of the leading advocates and sheriffs. Moreover, the construction industry was thriving on the sudden upsurge in house building and provided employment opportunities for many of the unskilled immigrants.

The extension of the urban area was both sudden and rapid. In the space of fifty years, the capital spread from the Old Town ridge north to Canonmills, west to Fountainbridge and south to the Meadows. Some of the development involved an intensification of existing

suburban tentacles but much of it consumed virgin land, particularly on the northern side of the city. These developments were to add some of the most important residential sections in the history of the city and initiated widespread changes in the land use pattern of Edinburgh.

CHAPTER 1.

PART 2.

The Socio-Economic Character of Residential Areas in Edinburgh: 1100-1810.

Several historical studies¹ of Edinburgh contain references to the site of the houses of prominent citizens during this period and from these, it is possible to develop a general description of the location of fashionable residential areas. Unfortunately, documentation of the residences of persons of lesser rank is more limited although some descriptions of particular districts afford an insight into the character of various areas at different periods.

One of the earliest fashionable sites was at Castlehill which was situated within access both of the protective guardianship of the Castle and of the market centre and the heart of the civic settlement. The presence of the royal residence at the fortress added to the attractiveness of Castlehill, particularly for the residences of noblemen, ambassadors and others engaged in the affairs of state.

However, the numerous alleys and closes leading from the High Street also became sites of large mansions.

1. The principal sources were: Grant, J. "Old and New Edinburgh". Vol. 1. pp. 79-122, 166-174, 191-384. Vol. II, pp. 221-267. Ca. 1880; Watson, C.B. Boog. "Notes on the Names of the Closes and Wynds of Old Edinburgh". Book of Old Edinburgh Club Vol. 12, 1923, pp. 1-156. In addition the following contained isolated references: Arnot, H. "The History of Edinburgh"; Chambers, R. "Traditions of Edinburgh 1825; Chambers, R. "Minor Antiquities of Edinburgh", 1833; Wyness, F. "Medieval Edinburgh" 1944; Anderson, J. "History of Edinburgh" 1856. For Georgian Residential areas: Grant, J. op. cit. Vol. II, pp. 139-172, 334-348 and 355-362; Youngson, A.J. op. cit. isolated references.

By the fifteenth century, almost every close contained at least one large house belonging to a prominent cleric, lawyer or merchant.

Expansion had spread into the Cowgate Valley and, in 1530, Alexander Alesse described it as a place "where nothing is humble or homely, but everything magnificent the place of residence of the nobility, the Senators of the College of Justice and other persons of note and distinction."²

With the removal of the royal residence in the fifteenth century to Holyrood and the subsequent erection during the reign of James IV of the palace at Holyrood, the open lands of the Canongate became the site of several large town houses belonging to titled families and members of the court. Two notable examples were Moray House and Lothian Hut, the properties of the Earls of Moray and Lothian respectively.

By the sixteenth century most of the tenements facing onto the High Street and Lawnmarket were the homes of tradesmen whilst the West Bow and St. Mary's Wynd were other craft districts. The Grassmarket was also a low status residential area, possibly as a result of its functional role as an agricultural market place combined with the proximity of tanneries at King's Stables.

In the seventeenth century some adjustments occurred in the pattern. Growing prosperity and population increase encouraged an intensification of development within the central core of the settlement. As a result, a number

² Chambers, R. "Traditions of Edinburgh" 1931 Edition p. 240.

of new large houses were erected notably at the eastern end of the burgh near Netherbow. However, many citizens now lived in flatted residences with social segregation operating through a vertical zonation within the buildings: the basement and attics were divided into small flats whilst the intermediate floors formed the quarters of wealthier citizens. Sir Henry Craik said of these areas: "there (High Street), up to the middle of the eighteenth century, in houses piled up storey upon storey, whose only access was by a foul smelling common stair there congregated a proud, albeit a poor, aristocracy, a gay and most sprightly society ... the occupants of a typical first class tenement in Dickson's Close were: 1st floor, fishmonger; 2nd floor, lodging keeper; 3rd floor, Countess Dowager of Balcarres, 4th floor Mrs. Buchanan of Kelloe; 5th floor, milliners and manteaumakers."³

One new development of the period was the construction of Mylne's Court and James Court, in 1790 and 1825 respectively, on the north side of Lawnmarket. They consisted of large flats in open-court tenement schemes which, though not radically departing from traditional ideas, did offer space and some prospect of outlook for the residents. Moreover, the houses proved to be attractive and the residents included several advocates, merchants and noblemen.⁴

3. Home, B.J. "Provisional List of Old Houses remaining in High Street and Canongate of Edinburgh" Book of Old Edinburgh Club. Vol. 1. 1908. p. 30.

4. Stirling, I.A. "Mylne's Square" Book of Old Edinburgh Club Vol. 14, 1925, p.46.

Two contemporary house advertisements afford an insight into the character of large houses in the old core of the settlement at this time. The first concerns a residence in the Canongate, whilst the other was one of the diminishing number of large dwellings in the High Street area:

"To let, a very convenient lodging, belonging to the Rt. Hon. Lord Panmure and latterly possessed by the Countess of Aberdeen, consisting of a large drawing room, three very good bedrooms, and other conveniences on the same floor; above is very good garrets and below convenient cellars ... all enclosed with a handsome yard."⁵

"A large and convenient house, entering by a close mostly paved with flagstones, on the north side of the street (High Street), near the Netherbow, consisting of eight rooms, painted last year or papered; a marble chimney-piece from ceiling in one; -- the drawing room elegantly fitted up, gilded and carved in the newest style, with light closets to all bedrooms and other conveniences to the dining room and parlour; a wine cellar and large kitchen; a coal-fauld; fireroom for servants and larder; a henhouse --- a house for sedan chair; a garden extending down the greatest part of Leith Wynd, passing by the gate of Lord Edgefield's house."⁶

5. Chambers, R. "Minor Antiquities of Edinburgh" 1833, p. 252.

6. Grant, J. op. cit. Vol. I. p. 241.

Interestingly both descriptions stress the rank of previous occupants or proximity to titled persons, suggesting that an aura of desirability was derived from such an association.

The status pattern within the burgh was composed of a complex mosaic in which small clusters of substantial town mansions were embedded in rows of tenement dwellings. One important feature was the fact that many of the leading citizens only had lodgings in the capital, retreating in summer to their country mansions. Moreover, the offspring and relatives of the country lairds and leaders of church and state also had town lodgings, thereby adding to the group which maintained secondary residences in Edinburgh. Indeed, Baird points out that: "The pent-up life of the closes and wynds was beginning to be distasteful to many of the wealthier and more cultured of the community, and not a few, glad to get away from the stifling atmosphere of the city, had acquired country houses."⁷

The portion of Armstrong's map of the Three Lothians, 1773, reproduced as Figure 5, illustrates the prevalence of large suburban houses in the environs of Edinburgh. Several of these, for example, Muirhouse, Saughton, Dreghorn and Drum, were set amidst elegant formal wooded policies in a style which was fashionable in parts of England at this time.

7. Baird, W. "George Drummond: An Eighteenth Century Lord Provost" Book of Old Edinburgh Club Vol. 4. 1911.p.44.

To some extent the demands for new, larger and pleasantly situated houses within the settlement were met by the urban expansion southwards from Cowgate. In particular, the houses erected at Argyle Square and Brown Square were significant departures from the congested old tenement properties in the heart of the city.

The influx of poor migrants, particularly Highlanders, complicated the housing problem and overcrowding became commonplace in many of the poorer tenement properties in Grassmarket and West Port. Cowgate may also have been predominantly a low status residential area by the first half of the eighteenth century, for several decades earlier it was described as being "inhabited by many workmen and mechanics."⁸ However, the description of a house for sale in 1761 provides conflicting evidence for it had "ten fine rooms, kitchen, garret and cellars, being second floor of the land in the Cowgate near the Meal Market."⁹

A period of rapid change commenced in the 1760's with the expansion north onto Bearford Park and south to Ross Estate. Within a few decades there was an exodus of the members of the upper and middle classes from the Old Town to the new terraced and flatted Georgian dwellings. For a time the High Street and Canongate did retain some large residences, notably in one small enclave at John Street and New Street in

8. Brown, P.H. Ed. "Early Travellers in Scotland 1891, p. 222.

9. Cockburn, H. "A History of New Edinburgh Club. 1787-1937" p. 10. 1939.

Canongate.¹⁰ Both were new developments of small terraced houses and had attracted a number of advocates and judges amongst the first occupants. By 1810, however, few large houses remained and the Old Town had been abandoned by the elite and left as a residential area for artisans and labourers.

The new developments occurred at Bearford Park and on the lands of Bristo and Pleasance, although there was also a few suburban mansions erected at Inverleith, Morningside and Newington.

Chronologically the development at George Square to the south of the Old Town, preceeded the New Town by almost a decade. * The terraced dwellings proved extremely popular and the district soon became a fashionable resort for country gentlemen, advocates, merchants and doctors.¹¹ However, as the new urban growth progressed, the northern districts became the main area of expansion leaving George Square as a comparatively isolated southern cluster.

Craig's design for the New Town was based upon a rectangular pattern centred on Lang Dykes ridge. Three principal streets (Princes Street, George Street and Queen Street) were separated by minor parallel streets (Rose Street and Thistle Street/Young Street/Hill Street) whilst two squares formed the end pieces in the plan.

10. Forbes Gray, W. "St. John's Street: An Early Civic Improvement" Book of Old Edinburgh Club. Vol. 28. pp.59-64

11. Comprehensive study of George Square in: Tait, M. and Forbes Gray, W. "George Square 1766-1926. "Book of Old Edinburgh Club. Vol. 26, 1948 p. 2-164

* For Edinburgh Street Index - see Map Pocket.

In addition, several access streets crossed the ridge cutting the pattern into smaller rectangular blocks.

When the proposals were initially debated, the Town Council visualised the New Town as a district for wealthy citizens and country gentlemen who had previously maintained seasonal lodgings in the medieval core of the burgh. They argued that those concerned with the commerce and administration of Edinburgh would remain resident in the High Street area. In fact, the elegant stone-built houses of the New Town attracted leaders in commerce, law, medicine and letters as well as titled and landed gentry. Indeed the district had a remarkable effect upon the way of life of the settlement, heralding a new era which involved a greater display of wealth and breeding and a dedication to literature, art and elegance.

After a slow start, (the eastern portion of the plan was not completed until 1780), the project proved extremely successful and was completed, in 1810, with the erection of the last houses at Charlotte Square. The North Bridge formed the principal link with the Old Town, although the Earthen Mound, started in 1783 as a means of disposing of excavated materials from the foundations of the new houses, gradually emerged as a convenient route for pedestrians.

Edinburgh benefitted from the tentative initial years for it allowed the Town Council to evaluate their role as promoters of the plan. As a result bye-laws were passed in the 1780's which created much of the distinctiveness

of the project. Limits were defined concerning the elevation of houses in various streets, the type of building materials and even the use of property in the mews. In consequence, the intention of the original design for major streets of terraced mansions with smaller, less pretentious flatted dwellings in the access streets and servants and tradesmen's houses in the minor streets, was re-inforced in these building regulations.

Within the New Town the principal locations of upper class dwellings were the terraces of Queen Street and Princes Street, the central thoroughfare of George Street and the two terminal squares. However, between 1770 and 1810 the precise pattern changed rapidly. In part, the expansion of the developed area contributed to the change but the main cause stemmed from the invasion by non-residential land uses which started in the later decades of the eighteenth century. Thus, in 1778,¹² at an early stage in the development, St. Andrews' Square was an important node of large residences belonging to wealthy citizens including several noblemen and large landowners. Youngson notes that "St. Andrews' Square for thirty years before 1800, had been one of the most fashionable places to live in all Edinburgh, outclassed only by George Square, and rivalled only by Princes Street, George Street and Queen Street."¹³

¹². Grant, J. op. cit. Vol. II, p. 166.

¹³. Youngson, A.J. op. cit. p. 232.

Photograph 2, an engraving by Shepherd illustrates the character of St. Andrew's Square in the first quarter of the nineteenth century.

By 1810, however, Charlotte Square had emerged as the elite focus supplanting areas which only a few decades earlier had ruled supreme. During the same period, Queen Street came to overshadow Princes Street in residential status, as the latter was invaded by banks, offices, hotels and clubs.

Moreover, the success of the New Town encouraged fresh speculation to the north, west and east, resulting in extensions of the New Town area.

Although the New Town was dominated socially by the large terraced mansions, the design also incorporated blocks of flatted dwellings. Some subdivision of terraced properties may also have occurred in the period following the initial construction of the New Town residences. Whatever the cause, the ubiquitous flatted residence of the medieval burgh re-emerged as an important element of the house structure in the more elegant and splendid setting of the Georgian districts. These flats, however, ranged in size from houses spanning two floors to tiny garret rooms perched amidst the rafters. Moreover they were located in both the main and minor thoroughfares so that classification of status is particularly difficult. However, the larger flats in the main streets were probably quite fashionable and equal to small terraced houses in Castle Street or Thistle Street at the beginning of the nineteenth century.

To the south of the Old Town the erection of South Bridge across the Cowgate Valley stimulated a

phase of speculation on the lands between Bristo and Pleasance. Whilst most of the area attracted tenement developments, there were a few rows of terraced houses and large flatted properties at Roxburgh Street and Hill Square. To the west Lauriston ridge was the site of several small groups of new Georgian dwellings in addition to the group at George Square. James Brown, the builder responsible for George Square, had also erected some flatted blocks in neighbouring streets, with Buccleuch Place, to the south of George Square, being the largest example.

In the 1760's several villas were constructed on the south-facing slope of Lauriston ridge at Wherton Lane. Later a more intensive phase of development along the axial road, Lauriston Place, produced a few rows of two storey terraced houses. Smith states that "throughout the nineteenth century Lauriston was a popular place of residence with well-to-do and distinguished citizens"¹⁴

The Old Town had become a lower class residential district by the beginning of the nineteenth century. Most of the tenement properties were old and insanitary and conditions were aggravated by subdivision of flats into one room dwellings and gross overcrowding. In particular, the immigrant families crowded into miserable flats and areas of the west Port and Grassmarket became notorious slum districts. As a result, a distinction developed between the labouring class and the 'respectable' tradesmen. The

¹⁴ Smith, J. "Notes on the Lands of High Rivers, Drumdryan and Tollcross". Book of Old Edinburgh Club. Vol. 18. 1932. p. 163.

latter sought residences in the minor streets in the New Town, at Multries Hill and Greenside (between the New Town and Calton Hill), in the new tenement properties at Bristo and Pleasance, and in parts of the High Street and Canongate.

Edinburgh had been transformed from a walled medieval city into a varied, exciting settlement, christened the Athens of the North and graced by areas of elegant Georgian dwellings and a glittering social elite. In some ways the end of the first decade of the nineteenth century marked the end of the Augustan era,¹⁵ for although expansion continued thereafter the emphasis in house construction within a few decades was to shift from the terraced houses to suburban villas and tenement blocks while the orderliness of the morphology was to be disrupted by new forces.

15. Excellent description of this period in literature and philosophy in: Young, D. et al., "Edinburgh in the Age of Reason" 1967 67 pp.

CHAPTER 2.

The Pattern of Status Areas in Edinburgh and Leith: 1855-56.

PART I.

Urban Growth and Economic Development. 1810-1855.

During the period 1810 to 1855, expansion in Edinburgh continued apace with the completion of the northern extension of the New Town and the birth, and subsequent fruition of a western extension. In addition, a small irregular-shaped plot in the possession of the Earl of Moray was feued in the 1820's for a "superior" development of elegant terraced houses. At this time an eastern wing was also initiated on the northern slopes of Calton Hill with the erection of the houses in Carlton, Regent and Royal Terrace. Beyond this zone a number of small speculative ventures produced streets of stone-built terraced houses in pleasant peripheral locations. One notable example occurred at Stockbridge where Henry Raeburn had designed a small cluster of streets of terraced and flatted houses.

An economic crisis in 1825 which was followed by several years of comparative stagnation stopped the development of several projects, notably the eastern extension of the New Town. When the financial position eventually recovered sufficiently to encourage investment, the railway era had emerged to compete with house building for the available money.¹ As a result several areas remained unfinished in 1855 e.g. Hillside Crescent, Royal Crescent and Manor Place. Further evidence of the

¹. Saunders, L.J. "The Making of The Scottish Democracy: 1815-1840" 1950 p. 88.

deep impact of the recession is provided by the fact that whilst the Dean Bridge was erected in the 1830's with the specific purpose of opening the lands of Learmonth and Dean for feuing, the first houses there were not completed until 1850.

On the south eastern fringe of the Old Town there was an intensification of development with the erection of rows of tall tenements upon much of the land between the Cowgate and St. Leonards. This inner zone of tenement houses was bounded on the south by a series of streets of more spacious flatted dwellings at Clerk Street and Rankeillor Street, whilst the Newington district on the extreme periphery contained a growing cluster of large terraced dwellings and villas.²

An analogous zone extended southwards from Lothian Road to Morningside on the western flank of the Old Town. Between St. Cuthbert's Church at the western end of Princes Street and Tollcross the land was predominantly occupied by tenements and industrial premises. To the south of Tollcross, however, the two-storeyed terraced houses at Gilmore Place and in several small adjacent streets formed a transitional zone separating the Fountainbridge district in the north from the villas and mansions at Bruntsfield, Greenhill, Morningside and Canaan to the south. One feature of the residential development was the growing popularity of peripheral sites. In particular, plots near routes leading to the city but

² Forbes Gray, W. "The Lands of Newington and Their Owners" Book of Old Edinburgh Club. Vol. 24. 1942. pp. 152-197.

situated in pleasant semi-rural areas proved attractive. Thus, the lands of Inverleith to the north and Bruntsfield and Newington on Grange ridge to the south of the Old Town, developed as suburban villa districts.

Within the Old Town, the construction of George IV Bridge and Bank Place improved the access to the High Street from Lauriston ridge and the New Town, whilst another new bridge crossed the valley in the King's Stables district and provided a new western approach to Lawnmarket.

Leith,³ in 1856, was still a comparatively small settlement though it possessed a flourishing industrial base. At this period, the town consisted of three distinct elements: the parish of South Leith, which contained almost two thirds of the inhabitants of the settlement, mostly in the old compact core around the harbour and Kirkgate but with Georgian extensions towards Leith Links; secondly, the parish of North Leith, which also had a small intensive nucleus beside the harbour and a large sparsely populated portion located on the raised shoreline westwards to Trinity and Wardie; and thirdly, the small fishing settlement of Newhaven which, in 1841, had a population of 2,103 persons, less than one tenth of the total inhabitants of Leith.

In general, the nineteenth century, particularly the years between 1833 and 1890, was an extremely important one for Leith. In 1833, the settlement attained

3. Principal sources for material about the growth and character of Leith were: Russell, J. "The Story of Leith" 1922; Russell, J. "The Government of Leith Through the Centuries" in Institute of Public Administration, "Studies in the Development of Edinburgh, 1939 pp. 41-51 ; Grant, J. op. cit. Vol. III, pp. 150-266.

independence and burgh status, thereby allowing the full free development of the town for the first time in its history. The full impact of the Industrial Revolution also began to have an effect from the 1830's onwards, initially with the entry of the railways, but subsequently through technological changes and alterations in market demands, which collectively accelerated the expansion of Leith as a seaport and as an industrial centre.

There were four main industrial concentrations in 1856. To the east of the harbour and the town, served by a branch line of the North British Railway, there was a large cluster of industries including the extensive premises of the Edinburgh Ropery and Sailcloth Manufactory, a glassworks, saw mills, a chemical works and a soap works. Upstream from the harbour and docks there were more saw mills, in addition to flour mills, engineering works and shipbuilding yards. Still further upstream, at Bonnington, the old milling and tanning centre continued to flourish and the site had now also attracted a chemical works and a distillery. Finally, the Leith Walk area was the site of a number of industries including saw mills, an iron works and several engineering firms.

Change was also in progress at the harbour. Continually limited in its handling capability by the shallowness of the waterway, the decision was taken to construct two docks on the North Leith bank early in the

nineteenth century. In 1853, a further, larger installation, Victoria Dock, was opened by the Leith Dock Commissioners who, in 1838, had become the owners and controllers of the harbour in place of Edinburgh Corporation.

The restricted nature of the development of the settlement prior to the nineteenth century affected the residential land use pattern. Most of the population lived in very close proximity to the harbour area in old, rather dilapidated tenement buildings. In contrast, recent accretions consisted of a mixture of small streets or even rows, of terraced dwellings, new blocks of tenements and scattered villas, both in North and South Leith, creating an incomplete residential landscape. Moreover, the restricted status of Leith, along with its maritime and industrial character, meant that it lacked the glittering social elite which characterised the new areas of Edinburgh. Most of the residential development between 1810 and 1855 occurred in the suburban fringes of North Leith Parish, Leith walk and Leith Links.

In complete contrast to the medieval settlements of Edinburgh and Leith, Portobello,⁴ to the east of Edinburgh, was a product of the eighteenth century. The initial stimulant for growth came from the clay of the Figgate Burn which was found to be suitable for pottery and brickmaking. Indeed, Portobello became the chief source of bricks for New Town houses in Edinburgh. These industries at Rosebank were joined by a large glassworks and this industrial district formed the initial urban

⁴ Main source of history and growth of Portobello: Baird, W. "Annals of Duddingston and Portobello" 1898 509 pp.

nucleus. Almost simultaneously, however, the general vogue for sea bathing and retirement in quiet surroundings encouraged the local landowner, the Earl of Abercorn, to feu plots in the first years of the nineteenth century beside the shore and to the east of the industrial cluster. Thus, Portobello acquired a dual functional role of manufacturing centre and resort settlement and two distinctly different, though juxtaposed, growth nodes. The settlement continued to expand and, in 1851, had a population of 3,497 persons. Portobello, however, was completely detached from Edinburgh, separated by an expanse of undrained meadow and open moorland.

In both Edinburgh and Leith spatial expansion was largely due to population increase producing an almost insatiable demand for housing.

The population of Edinburgh had grown from 67,288 to 160,511 between 1801 and 1851, whilst the inhabitants of Leith increased from 15,272 to 30,919 in the same period.

Although the first railway line was opened in 1826 connecting St. Leonards in Edinburgh with Dalkeith and the Midlothian coalfield, the main surge of development occurred in the 1830's and 1840's with the construction of local lines to Leith, Trinity and Newhaven, and the important regional and national connections with Carlisle, Glasgow and Berwick. The railways absorbed much of the available speculative investment, and required an enormous

unskilled labour force, recruited mainly from the continual flood of immigrants, especially from Ireland. Moreover, the ability of this new mode of transportation to move bulky goods, such as coal, rapidly and in large consignments, soon stimulated industry to seek sites adjacent to termini and sidings, or to build spurs to their existing sites.

In 1822 a canal was opened connecting Edinburgh with the industrial complex based upon the Lanarkshire coalfield, but it failed to emerge as a major transportation route, partly as a result of constructional deficiencies and also because of the intense competition from the railways which, in general, were faster, cheaper and more flexible. However, the presence of the canal did cause a small knot of industrial premises near the terminus at Port Hopetoun which lay just north of Fountainbridge.

Over the whole spectrum of industry, the period 1810 to 1855 was one of growth in the Edinburgh area, with the founding of new elements such as the silk mills alongside the canal and the expansion of traditional industries. The brewery complex at Holyrood and the glassworks at Leith and Canongate all experienced considerable growth. In finance and commerce, a phase of very rapid development occurred with the founding of banks and insurance companies. At this time too, Edinburgh became an important retail centre in which Princes Street and South Bridge were the dominant shopping foci.

CHAPTER 2.

PART 2.

Introduction to the Residential Analysis.

The Valuation Roll of 1855/56 provided the source of information for Edinburgh whilst that for 1856/57 was used for Leith. This slight difference was unfortunately unavoidable but it is unlikely that any discrepancies would arise in the period of one year.

The analytical procedure involved the transcription of details relating to address, assessment and, where available, occupation of householder for every dwelling of both settlements. The values were then adjusted to the nearest whole unit and frequency distributions were calculated. There are shown in Appendices IA and IB. One feature of the data was the recording of tenements consisting of one room dwellings in the form of a block entry. Thus beside the address, the cumulative value was recorded followed in brackets by the total number of dwellings involved. Since these houses had very low values, this recording procedure probably did not conceal any significant assessment differences. Leith and Edinburgh are analysed separately in the subsequent parts of this chapter because they were spatially discrete settlements at this period with largely independent residential structures. Indeed, as separate burghs, they were valued by different Assessors. However, there did not appear to be any discernible variation in the assessment of equivalent dwellings in the two settlements

and the same grading scheme was adopted for both.

At the middle of the nineteenth century, the valuation procedure appeared to favour certain values notably five and ten pound units above a yearly rental of £40. This bunching tendency presumably reflected comparatively regular increases in room and house size, plot area and in the presence of outbuildings.

The assessments were divided into five grades constructed from an examination of the frequency distribution and of the occupations of the residents. The five value grades were as follows: Grade I £81 and over, Grade II £46-80, Grade III £21-£45, Grade IV £10-£20, Grade V £1-£9. Each grade tended to have a characteristic combination of house types and a majority of the residents were within one occupational category defined by means of the 1921 census.¹ However the assessment and occupational grades did not pair exactly. Thus assessment Grades II and IV were in occupational terms mixed grades respectively representing transitional categories between occupational Grades I and III, and III and V.

The number of residences in each grade were as follows:-

1. The 1921 Census recognised five occupational/socio economic classes: Grade I, professional, Grade II lesser professional and commercial, Grade III, clerical, supervisory and skilled, Grade IV, semi-skilled, and Grade V unskilled. Thus for example, advocates would be classified as Grade I, clerks as Grade III and labourers as Grade V.

	<u>EDINBURGH.</u>		<u>LEITH.</u>	
	<u>No. of Houses</u>	<u>% of Total</u>	<u>No. of Houses</u>	<u>Total.</u>
Grade I	983	3.2	19	0.3
II	1328	4.4	128	2.1
III	3232	10.7	360	5.8
IV	4367	14.4	881	14.2
V	<u>20,408</u>	<u>67.3</u>	<u>4830</u>	<u>77.6</u>
	30,318	<u>100.0</u>	6218	<u>100.0</u>

Each grade was examined in terms of its rental structure and this is presented in Appendices IC and ID. Two general features emerged. Firstly, the percentage of owner-occupancy increased in direct relations to assessment, particularly in Edinburgh. Secondly, in all grades, the values at the lower end represented a large proportion of that assessment category. However, this was inevitable given the structure of the rental data which basically was pyramidal. In any case, the grades are primarily intended as vehicles for analysis, although they were constructed in the hope that they would be associated with broad status groupings.

Saunders certainly considered that status areas existed in Edinburgh during the middle decades of the nineteenth century, districts "identifiable by economic use --- dominant occupation --- range of land values and rents, --- style of building and social reputation."²

Parts III, IV and V of this chapter examine the residential structure of Edinburgh and Leith in 1855-56 and 1856-57 respectively.

2. Saunders, L.J. "Making of the Scottish Democracy" 1950, p.89.

CHAPTER 2.

PART 3.

The Analysis of the Residential Structure of Edinburgh: 1855-56.

The distribution of Grade I residences which is shown in Figure 7, revealed pronounced concentration in the New Town and its extensions and in the development on the Earl of Moray's property. In fact, these areas contained 872 Grade I houses, or 88.7% of all dwellings in this rental grade. By comparison the other clusters were relatively minor in terms of numbers although they represented important facets of the overall residential structure. On the southern periphery of the city the suburban lands between Bruntsfield and Newington were the site of 42 (4.3%) Grade I residences, whilst thirteen houses at Inverleith were in this rental grade. Thirty four of the newly erected terraced houses at Clarendon Crescent and Eton Terrace on the lands of Learmonth and thirteen of the houses in George Square were also in rental Grade I. Finally the Grade I pattern was completed by a few isolated mansions at Dalry, Edgehill, Shrubhill, Abbeyhill and Lauriston and two houses in South Bridge and Nicolson Street.

Although the extensions had been influenced by the design and character of the New Town, there were important differences between each of the districts by the middle of the nineteenth century. The Northern Extension, for example, was the largest of the Georgian districts but both the Western and Eastern extensions to

the New Town remained incomplete after the cessation of development in the 1820's. Invasion by non-residential land uses had seriously affected the New Town to the extent that Princes Street and St. Andrews' Square had only a fraction of their original residences still intact and unaltered. Thus, although Princes Street, George Street and St. Andrews' Square¹ were all designed as areas of high rental terraced houses in 1855, they collectively contained 48 Grade I dwellings. Moreover commercial invasion had spread into George Street where milliners, manteaumakers, fencing and dancing instructors and other providers of "fashionable" services occupied first and second floor premises. Only Charlotte Square and Queen Street remained predominantly Grade I foci. The former had for some time attracted wealthy citizens. Even, in 1815, No. 7 Charlotte Square was sold for £5,005.² By 1855, the residents of Charlotte Square included leading lawyers, surgeons and doctors. Queen Street had also attracted wealthy members of the legal and medical professions including several sheriffs. In both of these streets, most of the Grade I dwellings consisted of a whole house, "each with a basement accommodating staff, kitchen and wine cellars, and a short back garden which housed the game cupboard. At the foot of the garden was either a small coachhouse or a stable, or both. On the ground floor of most of the

1. For impression of George Street and St. Andrews Square in 1820's see Photographs 1 and 2 in Vol. 2. These are engravings by T. Shepherd. "Modern Athens" 1829.

2. Youngson, A.J. op. cit. p. 311.

houses, apart that is from the entrance hall, were the dining room and pantry; the first floor usually consisted of a large L shaped room (in Heriot Row and Regent Terrace in the extensions of the New Town the two sides of the L may each be 30 feet in length) and one retiring room; the second storey housed the bedrooms and the third storey bedrooms and nursery."³

However, these dwellings also had their limitations:

"New Town houses of the best class were frequently damp on the ground floor and generally musty, due to imperfect drainage. Most surprisingly of all, they were also liable to overcrowding, because sleeping accommodation was limited due to the undue amount of space taken up by dining-rooms and drawing-rooms, and the servants, of course, were crowded together in odd rooms and closets, with the man-servant frequently huddled under the staircase."⁴

A number of Grade I dwellings, especially in Princes Street and George Street, comprised the upper floors of the original premises with a shop or office now occupying the ground floor. Such houses had values of between £81 and £110 which corresponded in value with the few complete smaller terraced houses, see Photograph 5, in the secondary streets, e.g. Frederick Street or Castle Street, whereas a complete major New Town residence exceeded £110 in annual assessment. Although the largest house in the New Town was No. 64 Queen Street, assessed at

³. D. Keir, Ed. Third Stat. Account Edinburgh 1966, p. 59.

⁴. A.J. Youngson, *op. cit.* P. 271.

£200 per annum, Charlotte Square⁵ had a higher average Grade I valuation and was more homogeneous in rental character. Interestingly, the few remaining large dwellings in Princes Street and George Street were, in general, higher in rental assessment than the much larger cluster of Grade I dwellings in Queen Street.

In 1855, the Northern Extension contained 27.3% of all Grade I residences in Edinburgh. The original design of this district had incorporated three elements: firstly, several imposing streets of small terraced dwellings; secondly, ancillary streets of small terraced houses and flatted buildings; thirdly, two minor streets which were intended as servant and artisan quarters. The two major clusters of Grade I houses were located on the southern periphery at Heriot Row, Abercromby Place, Albany Street and York Place, and mid-way down the north-facing slope at Royal Circus, Great King Street and Drummond Place.⁶ As in the New Town, many of these three- and four-storeyed terraced dwellings were occupied by members of the legal and medical professions. Some of these streets included a variety of house types and sizes. For example, Great King Street contained large terraced dwellings and flatted blocks and as a result the mean value for all residences was £67 per annum. Moreover, the mean figure for the Grade I houses, £95, was much lower than the corresponding values of streets entirely composed of large terraced houses.

5. Photograph 4 illustrates the elegance of the houses in Charlotte Square.

6. Photograph 3 illustrates the houses in Drummond Place.

Playfairs' Eastern Extension to the New Town only consisted of three terraces on the slope of Calton Hill and a few houses to the north of London Road. However, the terraces were the site of 82 Grade I residences which had attracted a number of lawyers and doctors but also several merchants and businessmen. These were relatively small dwellings with mean values just below that for the whole rental grade, although there is no evidence that this feature in any way detracted from their appeal as fashionable residences.

The Western Extension to the New Town consisted of several streets situated between Shandwick Place and Queensferry Street with two prongs of development extending towards Haymarket and southwards at Rutland Square. However, the routes of the major railway companies had crossed the southern part of this district in the 1840's curtailing further erection of substantial terraced and flatted houses in their vicinity. Melville Street was the central axis of the formal design and contained the largest cluster of Grade I houses, although Walker Street, Atholl Crescent, Coates Crescent and Rutland Street were also important foci. In general, these houses were similar in size to those in the Eastern Extension with the exception of a few larger dwellings in Atholl Crescent and Rutland Square, where rentals exceeded £150 per annum. Interestingly, apparently comparable streets such as Atholl Crescent and Coates Crescent, possessed significant differences. For example, the respective mean Grade I values were £135 and £109 and

Coates Crescent also contained a greater proportion of houses with rentals below £80 per annum.

Between the New Town and its Western extension, the compact development on the Moray property occupied a sloping site overlooking Dean Gorge. Here, in the 1820's, a high status residential district had been built under the careful guidance of a comprehensive feuing plan which dictated elevation, design and materials for each houses in the overall structural plan of the architect, James Gillespie.⁷

By 1855, this was predominantly a Grade I residential district in which only the corner blocks were divided into lower value flatted houses. Moray Place,⁸ the formal centrepiece of the plan, was the only principal Grade I focus, with Ainslie Place and Randolph Crescent as the other major nodes within this area. Some invasion by non-residential land uses was occurring on the periphery, for both Albyn Place and Wemyss Place included a number of hotels.

The terraced mansions in the Moray development were unusually spacious as the mean values for Moray Place and Ainslie Place, of £145 and £138 respectively, reveal. These sumptuous town houses had attracted a glittering array of occupants including a large number of advocates. The largest house, in fact, No. 20 Moray Place, which had an assessment of £200 per annum (the highest value in Edinburgh), was the residence of

7. Youngson, A.J. op. cit. p. 217-222.

8. For impression of Moray Place in 1820's see Photograph 4 which is an engraving by T. Shepherd.

the Earl of Moray.

Thus, within the northern Georgian areas, the principal streets of the Moray development, Charlotte Square and Queen Street in the New Town and Heriot Row and Abercromby Place in the Northern Extension, formed a group of streets of particularly high status.

The thirty four Grade I residences at Learmonth were almost another extension of the New Town since they faced the Moray development on the other side of Dean Gorge. Moreover, these were also terraced houses, although they had a maximum rental of £105 per annum. There was, in fact, a tendency for houses erected after 1830 to be slightly smaller than those built between 1770 and 1825.

George Square which, in 1800, had been the equal of the main New Town streets, now contained fourteen Grade I residences. Although this suggests that status decline may have occurred, the evidence is not decisive. In 1855, the residents included doctors, merchants and businessmen, occupations which were characteristic in other Grade I residential areas. Admittedly, none of the leading lawyers, judges, or sheriffs were resident in George Square nor any of the considerable number of persons of noble birth who had houses in Edinburgh. The highest assessment in George Square was only £100, but against this must be set the fact that originally these were some of the largest houses in Edinburgh. Although some houses in the New Town areas were now appreciably larger than those at George Square, the latter may still have retained much of their original appeal.

Suburban development at Inverleith and on Grange ridge, at Bruntsfield, Morningside and Newington, constituted the final component of the Grade I pattern. In total, this involved fifty five houses, forty one of these being located on the southern fringes of the city. At Inverleith, most of the Grade I residences flanked Inverleith Row which contrasted with a dispersed pattern of isolated villas at Bruntsfield and Morningside. The cluster at Newington, however, was part of a larger suburban development to the south of Salisbury Road. Early in the nineteenth century a feuing plan for this area had been produced and several large houses had been erected in Minto Street and Blacket Place. As Forbes Gray records, "throughout its history, it was closely identified with the merchant class. Only to a limited extent has it (Newington) attracted the professions, the members of which have chosen to dwell either north or west of Princes Street."⁹

The distribution pattern of Grade I houses, therefore, consisted of a major zone in the New Town areas and small suburban elements at George Square, Grange ridge, and Inverleith. In detail, the New Town districts comprised several discrete foci some of which were separated by streets of lower value houses. However, the Moray Property, parts of the western and Eastern Extensions, and the northern margins of the New Town and southern fringe of the Northern Extension formed the principal homogeneous tracts of Grade I dwellings.

9. Forbes Gray, W. "Lands of Newington and their owners." Book of Old Edinburgh Club Vol. 24. 1942. p. 191.

TABLE I.GRADE I EDINBURGH 1855-56: RANKING AND RENTAL CHARACTERISTICS OF MAIN LOCATIONS BY STREETS.

<u>STREET</u>	<u>NUMBER OF GRADE I RESIDENCES</u>	<u>SIZE RANKING</u>	<u>MEAN GRADE I ASSESSMENT</u>	<u>RENTAL RANKING</u>
Melville Street	53	1	£107	16
Great King St.	53	1	£95	20
Moray Pl.	46	3	£145	1
Queen Street	41	4	£115	10
Charlotte Square	40	5	£131	4
Heriot Row	40	5	£119	8
Regent Terrace	34	7	£104	17
Royal Terrace	29	8	£109	13
Drummond Place	28	9	£96	19
George Street	28	9	£121	17
York Place	26	11	£114	11
Royal Circus	23	12	£111	12
Castle Street	22	13	£95	20
Walker Street	22	13	£95	20
Ainslie Place	21	15	£138	2
Clarendon Crescent	21	15	£109	13
Atholl Crescent	20	17	£135	3
Rutland Square	20	17	£119	8
Coates Crescent	20	17	£109	13
Abercromby Place	19	20	£127	6
Carlton Terrace	19	20	£99	18
Albany Street	18	22	£90	24
Rutland Street	17	23	£95	20
Randolph Crescent	16	24	£128	5

The twenty four streets listed in Table I accounted for 68.8% of the Grade I residences in Edinburgh. There was no close correlation between ranking based on size and order derived from mean values. However, several streets had particularly high mean values, notably Moray Place, Ainslie Place, Charlotte Square, Atholl Crescent, Randolph Crescent and Abercromby Place, whilst Albany Street, Great King Street, Castle Street, Walker Street and Rutland Street all had relatively low mean values.

Although the distribution of Grade II residences, Figure 8, had points of similarity with the Grade I pattern, Figure 7, the emphasis differed substantially. The New Town areas contained just under half of the Grade II residences whilst suburban areas accounted for 34% of the houses in this rental category. In addition, a cluster of 108 Grade II houses was situated on Lauriston ridge. Finally, there were a few Grade II houses in small groups or as isolated dwellings near Fountainbridge, at Abbeyhill, at Multries' Hill, in the Old Town, at Nicolson Street, Sciennes and Gilmore Place. Although some of these were terraced dwellings, most were detached houses often set amidst small cottages or blocks of tenements.

The New Town contained 147 (11%) Grade II residences. Most of these were flatted dwellings or the smaller terraced houses located in the access streets such as Frederick Street and Castle Street. Conversion of terraced buildings in the principal thoroughfares had probably increased the numbers of flatted properties

but despite the varied origin and differences in house type, the Grade II clusters in the New Town were very similar in rental structure. In general, the residents were merchants and businessmen, although there were also several lawyers, doctors and surgeons.

With 297 Grade II residences, the Northern Extension was the largest district in Edinburgh for houses assessed at between £46 and £80 per annum. As in the New Town several streets included corner blocks of flats which were in this rental range although there were also some terraced dwellings, notably in Northumberland Street. Table 2 lists the rental pattern of the principal clusters in the Northern Extension.

TABLE 2.

Northern Extension of New Town 1855-56.

<u>STREET</u>	<u>NO. OF GRADE II RESIDENCES</u>	<u>RENTAL RANGE</u>	<u>MEAN RENTAL</u>
Northumberland Street	52	£50-£80	£76
Albany Street	23	£50-£80	£75
Great King Street	19	£46-£80	£66
York Place	19	£50-£80	£65
India Street	17	£55-£80	£70
Dublin Street	15	£50-£70	£63
London Street	15	£46-£65	£57
Dundas Street	14	£48-£70	£64

Northumberland Street was one of the few comparatively homogeneous streets in the district with twenty four of the houses being assessed at £80 per annum.

Most of the other streets were dominated either by Grade I or Grade III residences; Great King Street being an example of the former and Dundas Street of the latter. Moreover, there was a corresponding variation in house-type between the two groups with the high value examples characterised by terraced dwellings whilst the lower value streets were mostly composed of flatted properties, some of which were main-door flats.¹

The 124 Grade II residences in the Western Extension of the New Town occurred in two main conformations: firstly, they constituted a large proportion of all the houses in a few streets, notably Stafford Street and Lynedoch Place; secondly, they were an important minor element in several streets. As in the other Georgian areas, the Grade II residences were either small terraced houses, with those at Lynedoch Place being fairly typical examples, or quite large flats in good quality buildings, which in some cases were corner blocks.

Both the Eastern Extension to the New Town and the development on the Moray Property were relatively minor locations of Grade II houses, involving only 43 and 39 dwellings respectively. This primarily resulted from the comparative absence of the appropriate house size in the design of the two areas. In the case of the

1. The main-door flat had the distinction of a private entrance and occupancy of the ground floor site. In Grade II examples some houses also included the basement flat.

Eastern Extension the curtailment of development had effectively reduced the area of small terraced dwellings and large flatted properties to a small rectangle of streets between London Road and Leith Walk, with Windsor Street forming the main location of Grade II houses. At the Moray Property the plan had been based upon streets of elegant terraced houses and the only smaller residences were some corner blocks and properties which had subsequently suffered subdivision into flatted residences. Thus, the main cluster occurred in Great Stuart Street which linked Moray Place to Ainslie Place and Randolph Crescent. Here, the design favoured flatted houses since corner blocks constituted a large proportion of the total number of residences in the street.

The northern suburban zone involved three districts based at Stockbridge, Inverleith and on the lands of Broughton and Pilrig. At Stockbridge, 74 of the 110 Grade II residences in that district were situated in a scheme which Sir Henry Raeburn had developed in the 1820's beside the Water of Leith. Most of the houses were small two-storey terraced dwellings, with small narrow gardens and fenced with iron railings,¹⁰ although a few of the large properties were divided into flats. Across the river, and close to the old industrial centre of Silvermills, 21 Grade II residences were situated in Saxe-Coburg Place. These were in fact slightly larger terraced houses with a mean value of £68 although they occurred in a small isolated speculative development and were surrounded by streets of lower valued residences.

10. See Photograph 7.

The Stockbridge area may have been less fashionable than the Grade II sites in the New Town and its extensions, for the occupational data revealed a relatively low representation of lawyers and doctors, the area apparently being more attractive to Army officers, artists and small businessmen.

Most of the 64 Grade II residences at Inverleith were situated in two streets, Inverleith Row and Howard Place. Indeed, this really was one street, for Howard Place was merely a terrace of houses at the south eastern end of Inverleith Row. The unity of the terrace contrasted with the individualistic variety of Inverleith Row, where villas and semi-detached villas of many designs stood side by side. Although containing fewer houses and in a much more embryonic stage of development, this main artery resembled that of Minte Street and Mayfield Terrace at Newington. In fact, there was a pronounced tendency for areas to duplicate each other at this period, as the New Town extensions most readily illustrate. It would appear that market taste for particular types of houses and locations, and the role of the builder in supplying, and often stimulating, this demand applied at the middle of the nineteenth century, as it does at the present time.

The final portion of the northern suburban zone involved an extensive wedge of land bounded on the west by Broughton Street, on the north by the Water of Leith and the city boundary, on the east by Leith Walk and on the south by Picardy Place. However, only the southern part was intensively developed whilst the remainder

of the area contained only a few clusters of houses at Claremont and Pilrig and in a general, sporadic zone alongside Leith Walk.

Almost 20% of the Grade II dwellings in the Broughton-Pilrig district were situated in Forth Street, with Gayfield Square, Claremont Street and Broughton Place forming the other major clusters. However, Forth Street was the only instance in which Grade II dwellings were numerically dominant. It was, in fact, really a continuation eastwards of Albany Street in the Northern Extension and consisted of terraced dwellings with a mean yearly rental of £69.

To the south of the Old Town, Lauriston ridge was the site of two clusters of Grade II houses. The George Square area contained 64 Grade 2 dwellings, 48 of these being located in George Square and the remainder in Buccleuch Place. Those in George Square had a mean rental of £68, with thirteen of the houses being assessed at £80 per annum. Some were flats in corner blocks but most of the houses were terraced dwellings. In general, the latter had slighter higher assessments than the flats but there were no discernible differences in the occupations of the residents of each house type. West of Heriot's Hospital (School), forty four Grade II houses were situated in rows of terraced dwellings in Lauriston Place and in streets on the south-facing slope adjoining the Meadows.

The southern suburban zone, with 221 Grade II houses, also consisted of two sections, at opposite ends

of Grange ridge. At the western end of the ridge the lands of Bruntsfield and Morningside were the site of sixty two Grade II dwellings. Despite the comparatively small number involved, variation in design and style characterised this district with the houses including two storey Georgian country houses, one-storey pseudo-Grecian villas, two storey semi-detached villas and two storey terraced houses with attics. There were scarcely any clusters, apart, possibly from the thirteen houses in Greenhill Gardens, but most of the distribution involved small groupings and isolated dwellings dotted across a fairly extensive, sparsely developed, semi-rural suburb. By contrast, the eastern part of the ridge had a clearly recognisable focus at Newington. Here, the south slope of the ridge had gradually become speckled by villas and estates, with the group of streets at Salisbury forming a more intensive knot of urban expansion. Most of the 159 Grade II residences were located in this intensive section, with Minto Street being particularly important. These were mostly terraced or semi-detached dwellings, stone-built, in the style of the early nineteenth century and set in modest, well laid out gardens. In contrast to the New Town this was almost a 'garden suburb' - a fact accentuated by the semi-rural location, with fields less than a furlong away. The fifteen Grade II residences in Blacket Place had a mean value of £74 which was £11 more than the overall average value for the grade. This street was set in a secluded development with gates at Minto Street which were locked each evening to guarantee its privacy.



The overall street pattern for Grade II is summarised in Table 3. The twenty streets listed contained

TABLE 3.

GRADE II EDINBURGH. 1855-56: RANKING AND RENTAL CHARACTERISTICS OF MAIN LOCATIONS BY STREETS

<u>STREET</u>	<u>NUMBER OF GRADE II HOUSES</u>	<u>SIZE OF RANKING</u>	<u>MEAN GRADE II RENTAL</u>	<u>RENTAL RANKING</u>
Northumberland Street	52	1	£76	1
George Square	48	2	£68	8
Minto Street	40	3	£61	14
Inverleith Row	35	4	£70	5
George Street	35	4	£59	17
Forth Street	27	6	£69	7
Howard Place	24	7	£54	19
Stafford Street	23	8	£61	14
Lauriston Place	23	8	£61	14
Albany Street	23	8	£75	2
Windsor Street	22	11	£75	2
St. Bernard Crescent	21	12	£64	12
Saxe-Coburg Place	21	12	£68	8
Frederick Street	20	14	£59	17
York Place	19	15	£65	11
Great King Street	19	15	£66	10
Gayfield Square	19	15	£62	13
Lynedoch Place	17	18	£74	4
India Street	17	18	£70	5
Hill Street	17	18	£54	19

almost two fifths of all Grade II residences in Edinburgh. One

illustration of the difference between the Grade I and Grade II distribution patterns can be gained by comparing the location of the streets listed in Tables 1 and 3. In the latter only eleven streets were located in New Town areas whereas, in Grade I, Clarendon Crescent was the sole example outwith the New Town areas. Although there was no clear relationship between the number of Grade II houses in a street and the mean assessment, Northumberland Street did rank first in both instances. Nonetheless, it was significant that all the streets in Table 3 with mean values of £70 and above were located in the New Town and its extensions. However, some of the streets with low mean rentals were also situated in the New Town. Moreover, whilst some streets which contained a number of Grade I houses had high Grade II assessments, for example Albany Street, others had average or even low mean values, e.g. Great King Street and Frederick Street, so the overall pattern was complex.

Compared with the patterns for Grades I and II, the Grade III distribution, Figure 9, covered a more extensive area of the city. The four, five and six room flat was the characteristic residence although there were also a number of small terraced dwellings, semi-detached villas and suburban cottages. The spatial pattern consisted of five regional groupings. Firstly, 1297 (40.1%) Grade III residences were located in the New Town and its extensions. To the north, a suburban zone between

Stockbridge and Leith Walk contained 590 (18.3%) Grade III dwellings. Thirdly, the Lauriston ridge was the site of 306 (9.5%) houses assessed at between £21 and £45 per annum. Fourthly, a southern suburban zone between Bruntsfield and Newington contained 315 (9.8%) Grade III houses. Finally, 714 (21.7%) Grade III residences were located in an inner zone situated between the New Town and the southern suburbs. This region included the Old Town and the developments at Maltries Hill, Greenside, Lothian Road, Fountainbridge, Bristo, St. Leonards, Abbeyhill and Comely Green.

Most of the Grade III houses in the New Town zone were located in the New Town and its northern extension. By comparison, the western and eastern extensions and the Moray development were minor locations of Grade III dwellings. In the case of the latter, this reflected the design of the area. Moreover, the occupants of the few Grade III flats were employed in similar professions to many of the residents in the nearby Grade II terraced houses. Both the western and eastern extensions had small clusters of Grade III dwellings in peripheral streets e.g. Torphichen Street and Leopold Place.

Within the New Town most of the Grade III houses were flats in the secondary streets, although the largest cluster occurred in George Street. Some of the residents were engaged in professions and administrative occupations but the majority were businessmen and shopkeepers.

Similarly, in the Northern Extension, the north-south orientated streets which descended from the Lang Dykes

ridge and several streets at the northern periphery of the development were the principal Grade III foci. Some variation in house size did occur. The twenty three Grade III houses in York Place, for example, had ~~a~~ mean value of £38 whereas twentyfour Grade III dwellings in Barany Street had an average assessment of £23. These, however, represented the extremes and most streets had average rental characteristics, for the value grade. The fact that the Northern Extension had appreciably more Grade III dwellings than the New Town, 656 compared with 346 houses respectively, illustrated one of the important differences between the two districts. Perhaps because of the site, although probably also as a result of changes in the volume and nature of the demand for quality houses, the Northern Extension had a greater number of streets of flatted properties than the New Town.

In the northern suburban zone, the distribution of Grade III residences was concentrated in the western and eastern portions, with the Inverleith area comprising only forty seven dwellings in this value grade. Moreover, most of these were located in Warriston Crescent; a street of pleasant terraced houses near the Water of Leith, which had attracted bankers, doctors, clerks and businessmen as residents. This occupational structure, and the fact that the average assessment was £38 per annum, suggests that this street may have enjoyed a higher status than the grading might indicate.

Two thirds of the 221 Grade III dwellings at Stockbridge were located in five streets: Clarence Street,

Ann Street, Comely Bank, Danube Street and West Claremont Street. In general, the rental differences between the main locations reflected variations in house type and number of rooms. Clarence Street and West Claremont Street, with mean rentals of £29 and £30 respectively, were dominated by tenement blocks which included a few large flats but most of the houses were four or five room dwellings. The terraced row at Comely Bank had an average value of £33 and the larger flats and terraced residences in Danube Street and Ann Street had mean Grade III values of £38 and £40 respectively. Moreover, the minimum Grade III value in both Clarence Street and Comely Bank was £21, whereas in Danube Street and Ann Street the figure was £27 per annum.

The district between Broughton Street and Leith Walk which extended northwards to the municipal boundary with Leith, was the site of one-tenth of all the Grade III houses in Edinburgh. In the intensively developed southern part of the district most of the Grade III houses were flats in tenement buildings at Broughton Street, Broughton Place, Antigua Street, Union Place and Gayfield Square. To the north a small outlier of urban speculation was located at Claremont where East Claremont Street contained a number of Grade III flatted residences which had a mean assessment of £36 per annum.

A further small cluster occurred at Pilrig, although most of the streets in this location consisted of Grade IV and V tenement blocks. Indeed, in the Broughton-Pilrig-Leith Walk district, the Grade III houses were

predominantly a minority of larger dwellings in streets primarily composed of lower value properties.

This situation was particularly characteristic of the Grade III houses in the inner zone around the Old Town and Canongate. Within the Old Town most of the 93 Grade III houses were in post-1765 additions to the area such as South Bridge and John Street. One interesting feature of the residents of the latter was that they were all engaged in trades and industries which occurred in Canongate. The nature of the information in the Valuation Roll did not provide evidence that they definitely worked in Canongate but if that were true, then it suggests that the area had retained some traces of its independence and identity as a separate community.

Between the New Town and its eastern extension, the residential speculation at Multries' Hill and Greenside had varied origins. Some builders had been encouraged in the 1770's to erect a few blocks of quite large flatted properties but the area had rapidly assumed the overall character of a Grade V residential district. Thus, in 1855, a few of the larger flats remained, notably at St. James Square on the crest of Multries' Hill, but they were a minor element in the status structure of the district.

A small urban development had also emerged to the east of the Old Town on the lands of Abbeyhill and Comely Green. Here the royal lands and the line of the main railway line to Berwick restricted the available building land. Moreover, the site was scarcely enhanced by the poor drainage and proximity of the "burn", or sewer, which had for centuries acted as the only means of sewage for the city. The thirty

two grade III residences were either small villas in Spring Gardens or flatted dwellings in a few streets of tenement houses which had been erected at Comely Green.

To the west of the Old Town, the lands in the Lothian Road-Fountainbridge district had gradually been covered by streets of tenement buildings in the late eighteenth century and first half of the nineteenth century. At Fountainbridge, an old trade village, most of the development consisted of small grade IV and V houses but a few streets in the vicinity of Lothian Road and to the west between Morrison Street and Fountainbridge, included Grade III properties. Two thirds of the ninety one Grade III houses in this district were located in three streets: Lothian Road, Gardner's Crescent and Grove Street.

On the southern fringe of the Old Town two distinct clusters of Grade III houses occurred on the lands of Bristo and St. Leonards. Firstly, immediately southwards of the University a small concentration occurred notably in Lothian Street and Nicolson Street. One feature of the former was the large number of lodgings in the street, presumably attracted by the University and the convenient location near the centre of the Old Town. Secondly, a larger conformation involving several streets, was located between St. Patrick's Square and Preston Street. Five streets, Rankeillor Street,¹¹ Montague Street, Preston Street, Lutton Place and South Clerk Street,

11. Some impression of the houses in Rankeillor Street can be gained from Photograph 8. Although this was taken in 1970 no major changes had occurred in the general external appearance of the houses since 1850.

accounted for 189 of the 246 Grade III residences in this vicinity.

The Lauriston ridge was the site of almost one tenth of all Grade III residences in Edinburgh. At the eastern end of the ridge most of the Grade III houses, 81 out of 103 residences, were located in Buccleuch Place. A broad street flanked by four storey buildings, it lay between George Square and the Meadows. To the west of Heriot's Hospital (school), Lauriston Place, Archibald Place, Keir Street and Graham Street were the principal Grade III foci. The infilling between the terraced rows during the first decade of the nineteenth century had introduced a number of blocks of tenement flats in Lauriston Place and Archibald Place, while Graham Street and Keir Street were both composed entirely of tenement properties in which the majority of the houses were assessed at less than £21 per annum.

The southern suburban zone with 315 residences was the final main element in the spatial pattern of the Grade III dwellings. Considering the extent of the area, this represented a relatively minor scatter of these residences with a few concentrations at particular points. Of the 142 Grade III residences in the western section, 73 of these houses were situated in Gilmore Place and a few adjacent streets. These rows of two-storey terraced dwellings formed a somewhat isolated prong of residential speculation close to the canal. The apparent disadvantages of the location beside the canal and the silk

works would seem to have been balanced by the size and type of dwellings for many of the residents of the 47 Grade III residences in Gilmore Place were engaged in clerical, business and professional occupations with a relative absence of craftsmen. Only three small clusters occurred in the rest of the Bruntsfield-Morningside district, at Canaan Lane, Greenhill Gardens and Morningside Place. The houses in Greenhill Gardens were quite large with a mean value of £38. Moreover, the residents included a surveyor, a brewer, a minister, an agent and a stockbroker. It would seem therefore that the residents had really evaluated these houses as being equal to those in Grade II.

The eastern section of the southern suburbs contained 173 Grade III residences. In this case, clusters lay on both slopes of the ridge, although the south-facing slope was still favoured. The residences included a number of small villas and semi-detached houses and also a few terraced dwellings, such as those in Gray Street. On the north-facing slope at Sciennes, an open development of cottages and villas included forty seven Grade III residences. Much of this area was still devoted to agricultural use and most of the houses were located near the edge of the Meadows.

TABLE 4.

GRADE III EDINBURGH 1855-56. RANKING AND RENTAL
CHARACTERISTICS OF MAIN LOCATIONS BY STREETS.

<u>STREET</u>	<u>NUMBER OF GRADE III HOUSES</u>	<u>SIZE RANKING</u>	<u>MEAN GRADE III RENTAL</u>	<u>RENTAL RANKING</u>
Buccleuch Place	81	1	£32	12
Rankeillor Street	69	2	£26	28
George Street	65	3	£35	5
London Street	58	4	£31	14
Lauriston Place	56	5	£28	26
Scotland Street	54	6	£31	14
Frederick Street	52	7	£35	5
Dundas Street	50	8	£33	10
St. James Square	50	8	£26	28
Clarence Street	49	10	£29	24
Castle Street	48	11	£35	5
India Street	48	11	£32	12
Gilmore Place	47	13	£34	8
Pitt Street	45	14	£30	20
Montague Street	40	15	£26	28
Broughton Street	37	16	£27	27
Hanover Street	37	16	£34	8
Archibald Place	36	18	£30	20
Dublin Street	36	18	£31	14
Torphichen Street	34	20	£31	14
Gayfield Square	33	21	£30	20
Great King Street	33	21	£33	10
Leopold Place	32	23	£30	20
Union Street	31	24	£29	24
Warriston Crescent	31	24	£38	2
Princes Street	31	24	£37	3
Howe Street	30	27	£31	14
Keir Street	30	27	£26	28
Ann Street	29	29	£40	1
Annandale Street	28	30	£31	14
Preston Street	28	30	£26	28
Lutton Place	27	32	£36	4

Almost 42% of all Grade III houses were located in the thirty two streets listed in Table 3. Significantly neither the two largest streets nor those with the highest mean rentals were situated in the New Town and its extensions. Thus, there were distinct middle value areas although these were often quite small in extent. Nevertheless fifteen of the thirty two streets were located in the New Town and its extensions illustrating the variety of house size which did exist in the areas of Georgian dwellings.

The spatial pattern of Grade IV residences, Figure 10, differed from that of Grades I, II and III in two main aspects. Firstly, at the district scale, the area to the south of the High Street, involving the lands of Bristo, St. Leonards and Newington, contained almost one third of all the Grade IV houses whereas the New Town and its extensions only contained 830 (19.0%) Grade IV residences. Secondly, the detailed pattern also revealed differences. In this context, one notable characteristic was the quite large concentrations of Grade IV flats in a street. Within the New Town, for example, Rose Street included 178 Grade IV houses.

Most Grade IV flatted dwellings were situated in three-, four- or five-storeyed tenement blocks where the majority of the residential units were assessed at less than £10 per annum. However, some Grade IV houses were examples of the small flats in predominantly Grade III properties, particularly in the Northern Extension.

Although the main area of Grade IV dwellings

stretched south from the Old Town to Grange ridge, the lands of Newington and Sciennes played a minor role in this distribution, containing 84 and 17 Grade IV residences respectively. Moreover, almost half of the Grade IV residences at Newington were located in Causewayside, a straggling linear village alongside an old routeway to the Border towns. Many of these houses were in ramshackle two- and three-storey buildings, some of which still had the traditional outside wooden stairs like those of the seventeenth century High Street tenements. The other Grade IV dwellings in the district were cottages, flats in corner blocks, or basement and attic residences in larger buildings and, collectively, they made little impact upon the overall standing of the suburb.

The majority of the Grade IV dwellings, however, were situated on the lands between Bristo and St. Leonards, in an area which became known locally as the "South Side". Three subregions could be identified within this district: the Pleasance-St. Leonards section to the east of Nicolson Street containing 701 Grade IV dwellings; the west of Nicolson Street, 277 Grade IV houses situated on the lands of Bristo and Buccleuch; the third subregion centred upon Clerk Street involving several streets of flatted tenement blocks with a total of 249 Grade IV dwellings. In general the "South Side" district was dominated by Grade V residences and many of the houses assessed at between £10 and £20 per annum were representatives of larger flats in tenement buildings dominated by one or two room houses. However, some streets, for example, Salisbury

Street, Parkside Street and Clerk Street, most of the houses were in rental Grade IV.

Two factors had profoundly affected the residential character of this district. Firstly, the location of trade quarters at Pleasance and Potterrow-Bristo had provided an industrial tradition which was enlarged in the first half of the nineteenth century with the opening of the coal depot at St. Leonards Station and the founding of several new industries in the vicinity of the railway terminus. Secondly, the area experienced piecemeal speculative development, especially between 1780 and 1820, which resulted in a number of minor residential projects of varied design and house size being erected during the early period of urban expansion. Later, the enhanced industrial potential favoured the erection of streets of working class tenements with the small piecemeal speculations remaining as enclaves of larger dwellings. Thus, in 1855, the Grade IV residences accounted for only one fifth of all houses in the district. Moreover, no major concentration of Grade IV dwellings occurred in any particular part of the district, although the streets in the vicinity of Clerk Street and immediately to the south of the University and line of the Flodden wall did have a greater concentration of Grade IV dwellings than other parts of the district.

A further 29.5% of the Grade IV residences in Edinburgh were situated in a zone surrounding the Old Town and Canongate, including the developments at Fountainbridge, Multries' Hill and Abbeyhill. The Old Town and Canongate contained 510 (11.6%) Grade IV houses.

However, like most of the other districts in the zone, the houses assessed at between £10 and £20 per annum were only a small proportion of all houses in the district. In general, all of these districts were dominated by Grade V houses. The distribution pattern of Grade IV residences in the Old Town lacked any focalisation with more than a score of streets, closes and wynds containing at least eight houses in this rental grade.

Similarly, the development at Multries' Hill and Greenside included a number of Grade IV dwellings embedded in streets of Grade V tenement residences. However, a cluster of Grade IV houses did occur at St. James Square where speculation in the last quarter of the eighteenth century had produced several blocks of three and four room flatted residences.

To the west of the Old Town, the Lothian Road-Fountainbridge area presented an analogous pattern to Multries' Hill-Greenside. In this case, the principal Grade IV cluster was situated in Gardners' Crescent and several neighbouring streets, although another small concentration comprised the tenement houses in Earl Grey Street and Home Street.

On the eastern periphery of the Old Town, the narrow neck of land at Abbeyhill contained forty eight Grade IV residences in a few streets of tenement properties at Comely Green.

In 1855, the New Town and its extensions only accounted for 19% of all the Grade IV dwellings in the city. The Western and Eastern Extensions were minor locations of these residences, with 89 and 60 residences

respectively in this rental grade. In addition there were only four Grade IV houses in the Moray development. In the New Town and, to a lesser extent, in the Northern Extension, the structural design had incorporated lesser streets of tenements intended for tradesmen and servants. These streets were the principal Grade IV sites, in 1855, with Rose Street and Thistle Street in the New Town, containing 174 and 74 Grade IV houses respectively. Most of the other 94 Grade IV residences in the New Town were located in flatted blocks in the principal thoroughfares and access streets but no marked clustering occurred. Many of these houses were basement and upper storey dwellings producing a vertical status zonation reminiscent of the eighteenth century closes and wynds of the High Street area. The occupational information in the Valuation Roll revealed that most of the residents of the Grade IV houses in the New Town were engaged in similar occupations to residents of other Grade IV districts i.e., tradesmen, clerks and shopkeepers. It would seem, therefore, that these houses did not gain noticeable prestige from their location in the New Town.

In the Northern Extension one third of the Grade IV houses were located in Jamaica Street and Cumberland Street, the equivalent of Rose Street and Thistle Street. Another cluster was located on the eastern margin of the district at Borony Street near Broughton village. However, several of the streets of flatted houses in this extension included Grade IV residences, particularly the north-south orientated streets. The

varying character of streets containing Grade IV residences can be illustrated by comparing Scotland Street with Jamaica Street. In the former the mean Grade IV rental was £17 whereas in the latter it was £12. Scotland Street consisted of substantial four storey tenement properties which included a number of quite large flats, whilst Jamaica Street was composed of less substantial three storey flatted buildings where the average house size was only two rooms. These differences in physical structure and house rental were also reflected in their respective occupational structure, for despite a number of occupations occurring in both streets, the presence of an accountant and a solicitor's clerk as residents of Grade IV houses in Scotland Street represents a major deviation from the general occupational pattern in Grade IV residences. Thus, Scotland Street was dominated by Grade III houses and even the Grade IV dwellings were relatively large, whilst Jamaica Street was primarily an area of Grade V houses and the rental characteristics of the Grade IV dwellings reflected this feature.

The northern suburban area contained 620 Grade IV residences, although only forty eight houses in this grade were located in the central part of the zone at Inverleith. In the western section, at Stockbridge, most of the 323 Grade IV houses were situated in tenement blocks on the southern side of the water of Leith, Cheyne Street being the only cluster on the Comely Bank side of the river. Residential speculation on the south bank may have been influenced by the industrial tradition of Stockbridge and Silvermills. Another contributory factor was that this

tract of land lay beyond the district covered by the strict feuing conditions which applied to most of the Georgian residential areas. Certainly, by 1855, most of the streets in this part of Stockbridge were dominated by Grade V residences, although a few streets did contain a range of different sizes of flatted houses.

An old industrial village, Canonmills, also constituted a nucleus for the Grade IV houses at Inverleith.

In the Broughton-Leith Walk district most of the Grade IV houses were situated in the intensively developed section between Broughton Street and Gayfield Square, with the former containing more than one quarter of all the Grade IV residences in this district. A minor cluster occurred at Pilrig near the city boundary and there were also a number of small pockets of Grade IV houses in the extensive sparsely developed northern lands which marched with Leith.

The development on Lauriston ridge to the south of the Old Town included 212 Grade IV houses. In the George Square section, the principal cluster occurred in Charles Street with Heriot Place, Keir Street and Lauriston Street the main locations of Grade IV residences in the western section of the ridge.

Finally, the lands of Bruntsfield and Morningside were the site of seventy six Grade IV houses, most of which were located in two clusters at opposite margins of the district. On the northern periphery Wright's Houses,

Leven Street and the area adjacent to Gilmore Place contained forty seven Grade IV dwellings, while a small group were located at Canaan Lane near the city boundary. In both cases many of the Grade IV dwellings were in old tenement properties which pre-dated suburban growth in this district.

The spatial distribution of the 20,408 Grade V residences is shown on Figure 11. Two districts, the Old Town and the adjoining inner zone of Fountain-bridge, Bristo-St. Leonards and Multries' Hill-Greenside dominated the pattern and these areas contained 76.1% of all the Grade V houses in Edinburgh. In contrast, the New Town and its extensions only included 1,361 Grade V houses, 6.7% of all dwellings in this rental grade.

Although the northern suburbs accounted for 8.9% of the Grade V houses, the majority of these, 1316 of a total of 1811 dwellings were situated at Stockbridge. Minor clusters occurred at Lauriston, particularly in streets adjoining the West Port, and at Dean Village. The latter which included 295 Grade V houses was described by Littlejohn as being a village where "(population) density of 151.8 to the acre the inhabitants are poor and the houses are for the most part of imperfect construction, in bad repair and deficient in sanitary appliances."¹²

On the southern periphery of the city the lands between Bruntsfield and Newington were the site of 492

12. Littlejohn, H.D. Report on the Sanitary Conditions of Edinburgh. 1865. p. 11.

Grade V residences. Most of these were located in old trade quarters as at Causewayside or in agricultural villages such as Tipperlinn and Morningside. Indeed, one general feature of the overall distribution of Grade V residences was the correlation with industrial and trade districts. Even in the New Town and its extensions, examples were mostly located in streets which had been designed for tradesmen and servants.

In most areas of eighteenth century tenement properties such as the Old Town and parts of the "South Side", Multries Hill and Fountainbridge, the Grade V dwellings were little more than hovels set in insanitary tenements in which overcrowding was prevalent. Some impression of the conditions can be gained from contemporary accounts. Dr. Littlejohn listed the occupancy statistics of several tenements in the older districts of the city. At No. 8 Cowgate,¹³ for example, he found that 38 families were resident in a five storey tenement of 60 rooms, which had one water closet and two sinks. A similar building in Middle Mealmarket Stair,¹⁴ a close leading from the High Street, housed 56 families in 59 rooms, a total of 248 persons, with no sinks or toilets. Moreover, Dr. Bell was able to produce comparable case studies in his elaborate analysis of Blackfriars Wynd. "Now a broad street but then a narrow lane, where the pestilential atmosphere was not cheered by sunshine during the daytime, and there was no gas to dispel the

13. Littlejohn, H.D. op. cit. p. 30-31

14. Littlejohn, H.D. op. cit. p. 31.

darkness of the night. Many of the tenements in this wynd were altogether unfit to be the habitations of men, the outer walls were ruinous, the partitions which divided the former houses of substantial burgesses were broken and decayed; but nevertheless they were crammed full of people. There was no water in the tenements, save in one new land, and every drop had to be carried from the nearest public well. There was no drain in the wynd; all the filth of the place remained on the surface within the wynd there were 142 dwellings, 193 chambers ... the population was 1,025 ... the average allowance of space was about 190 cubic feet. The average rent was slightly more than 1/- per week; the rental of the whole wynd was estimated at £7:5/- weekly"¹⁵.

Almost all the closes and wynds in the Old Town were dominated by Grade V residences, many of which resembled those described by Bell and Littlejohn. A visual appreciation of the character of these areas can be gained from Photographs 9, 10 and 11. The engraving of the Canongate in the 1820's by Shepherd, Photograph 9, shows a busy street flanked by tall tenement buildings. However, the views of Bakehouse Close, Photograph 10, and Lawnmarket, Photograph 11, in the late 1860's, present a more depressing picture of crumbling buildings and squalid conditions.

The Old Town district also suffered by the presence of several unattractive industries in the area including the brewery complex at Holyrood. Moreover, it was the principal

15. Robertson, D. op. cit. p. 21.

Irish quarter, in 1855, which did little to enhance the status of the district. Two sections of the Old Town were especially unpleasant residential areas. On the western edge of the Old Town, the Grassmarket-west Port area was one of the worst housing areas in the city. Here, 879 Grade V residences were crammed into two streets and the adjacent wynds and closes, so that the population density was 237.6 persons per acre.¹⁶ In the fever epidemics of 1847-48, Grassmarket had the largest number of deaths of any district in Edinburgh. As Littlejohn pointed out: "This is not to be wondered at when the condition of the district, even in the present day (1865) is looked at; and what it was twenty years ago, when the population was denser, and when the lodging-houses with which this district abounds were imperfectly superintended can easily be imagined. It has always been the favourite resort of the Irish, and nowhere in the city was their faculty of crowding into small space more characteristically manifested".¹⁷ Living conditions were further aggravated by the presence of three tanneries, a brewery, the cattle market and numerous trade workshops, stables and stores. The second area lay between Tron and Blackfriars Wynd in the High Street and as Bell described, the living conditions were appalling, whilst the population density of 314.5 persons per acre,¹⁸ was the highest in the city. Again the proximity of breweries, tanneries and workshops scarcely improved the environment in a grossly overcrowded quarter.

16. Littlejohn, H.D. op. cit. p. 15.

17. Littlejohn, H.D. op. cit. p. 25-27.

18. Littlejohn, H.D. op. cit. p. 29.

Almost three quarters of the Grade V dwellings situated in the "South Side" lay in the area east of Nicholson Street on the lands of Pleasance and St. Leonards. This whole district basically resembled the Old Town in the layout and condition of Grade V dwellings, although, with the exception of the Pleasance and Cross Causeway, most of the tenements had been erected since 1765. One point of difference was that the Pleasance-St. Leonards distribution occurred in streets rather than in closes and wynds as in the Old Town, although several closes did exist at Cross Causeway and Pleasance. Some streets contained a considerable concentration of Grade V houses. Pleasance, for example, was the site of 491 residences in this grade.

To the west on the lands of Bristo and Buccleuch, the main concentration of Grade V dwellings was located in the vicinity of Bristo Street and Potterrow, the pre-1760 trades settlement, although some streets of newer tenements near the Meadows were also dominated by Grade V residences.

The Fountainbridge district, with 1425 Grade V dwellings, repeated the pattern of the main inner tenement districts, in that it was an important industrial centre and had attracted several streets of tenement blocks which were composed of small one or two room flats. Moreover, as in the case of the Bristo-St. Leonards concentrations, many of the Grade V houses were contained within a few streets. In this case, Fountainbridge, Home Street, Ponton Street and Spence Place, accounted for

almost half of all the Grade V dwellings in the district.

A long established routeway leading from the city, and a site of a small trades and carting settlement, Fountainbridge had subsequently attracted functions such as temporary livestock storage because of the proximity of the main markets. During the first half of the nineteenth century two important transport routes erected their termini in this district, the Union Canal at Port Hopetoun and the Caledonian Railway at Lothian Road. This gave new impetus to industrial growth and encouraged a phase of tenement speculation. Finally, the decision to relocate the new shambles or slaughterhouse, in 1851, on the southern side of Fountainbridge reflected the traditional functional role of the area and its low social standing.

To the north of the Old Town, an extension of the poor quality tenement zone embraced much of the lands of Multries' Hill and Greenside. Most of the Grade V residences lay east of Leith Street at Greenside where several courts and narrow streets of tenements, often six storeys in height, had been erected. Most of the Grade V houses at Multries' Hill were located in one street, South St. James Street.

Although the New Town and its extensions included 1,361 Grade V houses, the pattern of distribution within and between districts was particularly striking. Thus, the Western and Eastern Extensions and the development on the Moray Property only accounted for 301 of these Grade V houses. Indeed, there were only three houses assessed at less than £10 in the Moray district. In the

New Town, 295 of the 425 Grade V houses were situated in Rose Street, whilst a further 82 dwellings were located in Thistle Street; in both cases, these were the planned trade and servant residential streets. Similarly, in the Northern Extension, 274 of the 635 Grade V dwellings were sited in Jamaica Street and a further 138 in Cumberland Street and the adjoining lanes. This strict spatial segregation of the majority of the small flats within the New Town areas clearly helped to reduce the impact upon the overall status of the districts. Moreover the fact that the residents were employees either as domestic servants or tradesmen, of the occupants of larger New Town residences, established a sharp status division which made the locational proximity of the residences a matter of little consequence.

To the north of the New Town, the Stockbridge district included 1,316 Grade V residences. Several of the streets of small tenement flats were situated on the south bank of the river in the vicinity of India Place but there were two important clusters flanking the Raeburn residential speculation. Firstly, the old bleaching village beside the river still had several small streets of two-storey tenements. Secondly, the absence of any overall developmental control had resulted in land to the north and east of the Raeburn project being covered by blocks of tenements dominated by small one or two room flats. In this case, the low value dwellings may have injured the status of the houses in the Raeburn scheme because they were not part of a carefully structured design such as that of the New Town district.

On the north eastern periphery of Edinburgh there were 359 Grade V residences distributed on the lands of Broughton and Pilrig. The majority of these were contained in two clusters around Broughton and Pilrig; with a minor group being located at the old mill centre of Bonnington.

Thus, the Grade V residences occupied a particularly distinctive locational pattern which focused upon the Old Town, the "South Side" and the old trades centres. Despite the numerical dominance of houses in this rental grade, many streets and districts (notably in the New Town areas and the southern suburbs) had scarcely any Grade V houses.

Three improvement schemes of working class houses were established by 1855, at Ashley Buildings in the High Street, Pilrig Buildings at Leith walk, and Chalmers Buildings at Fountainbridge. In total, they accommodated 161 families, the rents ranging from £3 to £7 per annum. Although the standard varied between the three schemes, the best housing conditions offered were at Chalmers Buildings where a family had a room, closet, kitchen and toilet with gas and water and the use of a drying green. These, however, were unusual conditions and many subsequent improvement schemes in the second half of the nineteenth century barely matched the accommodation and amenities of Chalmers Buildings.

CHAPTER 2.

PART 4.

The Status Areas of Edinburgh in 1855.

In Figure 12, areas were classified on the basis of the dominant assessment character and the numbers correspond with the five valuation categories of this period. Dominance was defined not only by the number of houses in a grade but also by the relative proportion which they consumed of the total residential area. Thus terraced Grade I houses could account for a greater proportion of the street frontage than several flatted dwellings in Grade III. However, each street was examined individually and areas were classified by grouping similar assessment scores. As a result a very detailed pattern emerged. Since the map was compiled on a plot basis the sparsely developed suburban districts tended to be exaggerated in spacial significance and, by comparison, the compact New Town districts were almost understated.

The principal Grade I districts were the Moray development, the terraces at Calton Hill and parts of the Western and Northern Extensions to the New Town with a small outlier at Learmonth. These were adjoined by Grade II districts, particularly in the Northern and Western Extensions. Moreover the occupational information suggested that many of the residents in the Grade II districts were probably of similar social status to those in the Grade I areas. In 1855 therefore, these Georgian districts were the most important high status areas in Edinburgh. However the design of these areas specifically incorporated streets of

lower status houses thereby complicating the overall assessment pattern.

Apart from the minor streets within the design, such as Rose Street and Jamaica Street, similar streets acted as boundaries between districts, notably Church Lane between the Moray development and the Northern Extension (see Photograph 36).

By this period much of the New Town had been invaded by commercial land uses and the part shown as Area 1 on Fig. 12 presented classification difficulties because of the small number of residences and the considerable variation in house valuation. In terms of numerical dominance this was a Grade III area, although there was no distinct clustering of residences of any of the assessment grades.

The second major zone in the status pattern involved the low status Old Town area and its extension southwards on to the lands of Bristo-St. Leonards. This district was not only the largest lower class residential area in the settlement but also the leading industrial quarter. Compared with the Northern Georgian districts, the structure was relatively simple with only a few enclaves of higher value houses notably at the southern periphery and on Lauriston Ridge. The low status zone had tentacular extensions at Fountainbridge, Causewayside, Abbeyhill and Greenside, the latter two surrounding the Grade I terraced houses at Calton Hill.

Beyond the intensive built-up area, suburban development had occurred at Stockbridge, Inverleith and

Pilrig to the north of the city centre and at Morningside and Newington on the southern periphery. In both cases, Grade II and III residences were the main elements in this pattern. At Stockbridge, there was a comparatively intensive group of streets to the west of the water of Leith, whereas Inverleith Row was a ribbon development. On the southern periphery, however, a more dispersed pattern produced a situation where quite large areas could be classified but they contained large tracts of undeveloped land. Comparison of the status of equivalently assessed houses in the suburban and planned Georgian districts was difficult because of the very substantial differences in the relative size of the two groups. Admittedly, leading members of the legal profession had all chosen to reside in the New Town districts and Forbes Gray¹ suggested that suburbs such as Newington tended to attract businessmen rather than those engaged in the professions. Thus, there may have been a status shading between the equivalently valued dwellings in the two areas with the New Town districts being the more fashionable.

A number of factors influenced the structure shown in Fig. 12. The site of Edinburgh, for example, had reduced the alternative directions of growth, with the mass of Arthur Seat to the east of the Old Town acting as a barrier. The overall design of the New Town districts played a fundamental role in the residential pattern after 1770. However, invasion by non residential uses also modified the internal residential structure of these districts and was partly responsible for the demand for extensions of the

1. Forbes Gray, W. op. cit. p. 191.

New Town early in the nineteenth century. In addition, the composition of streets in terms of the proportion of terraced and flatted properties created a basic structure although this was subsequently modified by subdivision of properties in some cases. With the development of the New Town districts, the Old Town had experienced decline in residential status and by 1855 was the site of the poorest housing conditions in the settlement. Other residential developments between 1760 and 1855 tended to be characterised by an absence of integrated design and feuing control. Thus several speculative streets of terraced houses and large flatted dwellings had been erected during this period at Stockbridge, Broughton and on the lands of Bristo-St. Leonards and Lauriston Ridge but by 1855 they were all adjoined by low status tenement districts.

The system of land ownership in Scotland was another important factor. The land owner had to choose the most favourable moment for the development of his property in terms of the feu duty which it would materialise. Therefore, many areas were withheld from the market in the expectation of better returns at some future date. Equally the land owner might have been opposed to particular types of development. An early attempt at the erection of an improvement housing scheme for working class residents at Pilrig, encountered considerable difficulty in obtaining a site because the major land owner in that area (George Heriot's Trust) was unwilling to feu land for this development. A further contributory feature to the pattern was the persistence of old milling and trades villages which had

now been encompassed by the expansion of Edinburgh. In some cases, the presence of these low status nuclei apparently had little effect on the general status of the adjoining lands as for example at Newington and Morningside. However, in other areas, they provided a base for subsequent expansion and by 1855 were at the heart of major low status districts; for example, this occurred in the case of Pleasance and Potterrow in the Bristo-St. Leonards district. Much seemed to depend upon whether or not new industrial developments occurred in the old trades districts. Where this happened, as at Bristo-St. Leonards and Fountainbridge, the speculative climate seemed to favour the erection of streets of small tenement houses whereas in peripheral areas such as Causewayside the main speculative interest lay in the good quality residential possibilities of the slopes of Grange Ridge.

Although a number of suburban areas had developed, the sparseness of the urban pattern meant that these areas in effect, had a tentative residential status which could have been altered as a result of subsequent developments on the large vacant sites. Moreover several substantial estates accounted for much of the undeveloped land in these suburban areas and their owners controlled the subsequent character of these districts, as Chapter 3 illustrates.

Valuation information did not record family status but a single person would probably have different residential desires from those of a family even if they were in the same socio-economic class and this feature may be part of the

explanation of the occupance of Grade II and even Grade III flatted houses in the New Town districts by persons whose occupational status was more commonly associated with Grade I dwellings. Another possible explanation is that those residents were younger members of the legal and medical professions. Since the Valuation Roll did not indicate the age of the resident there was no means of testing this hypothesis. However, the younger employees in almost any occupation normally receive smaller remuneration than more established members. Hence a young advocate might try to live as close to the fashionable legal residential areas as possible given his economic means. These circumstances might have favoured a location in a flatted block in one of the secondary streets in the New Town districts.

By 1855, new factors were beginning to assert their influence on the development of Edinburgh although the full impact did not occur during the period of this analysis. The railways, for example, had consumed areas to the south of the Western Extension of the New Town, to the north of Royal Crescent in the Northern Extension, and to the east of Leith Walk. In each case, the character of residential speculation was effected. The Goods Yard to the south of Scotland Street terminated the Northern Extension of the New Town (see Photograph 35). Secondly, the shortage of working class housing and the predominantly poor quality of those areas which did exist was producing pressures for improvement and the construction of large new working class districts. The small schemes at Fountainbridge and

Pilrig were forerunners of a much larger trend which gathered momentum in the remainder of the nineteenth century. Thirdly, the suburban outliers represented a third phase in the urban growth pattern of Edinburgh and they heralded the emergence of what has been called Victorian Edinburgh.²

By 1855, the residential pattern of Edinburgh involved a complex mosaic of areas of different size, intensity and status. The pattern had changed considerably from that of 1765 and was still developing, adjusting and maturing.

2. Keir, D. op. cit. p. 370.

CHAPTER 2.

PART 5.

The Analysis of the Residential Structure of Leith: 1856-57.

Although the residential pattern of Leith in 1856-57 had several points of similarity with that of Edinburgh, it also displayed a number of individual traits stemming from its unique history and functional structure. Moreover, it was quite small compared with the capital, containing a total of 6,218 houses. The combination of scale differences and historical characteristics meant that Leith had a more restricted rental range and an even greater concentration in the lower assessment grades than Edinburgh.

In morphological structure Leith differed from Edinburgh in two ways. Firstly, the old core had remained the largest residential district without experiencing the same sort of structural and social alteration as the Old Town of Edinburgh. Secondly, the post-1760 accretions were small and scattered, lacking the organisation or volume of many parts of Edinburgh. As a result, Leith had few modern villas, terraced houses or even tenements and those which had been built were located in sparsely developed suburban areas.

The port was divided into three parishes: South Leith, North Leith and St. Cuthberts. The latter was part of an extensive parish which also encompassed most of the suburban districts of Edinburgh.

South Leith Parish, which was the largest in

Leith, contained a total of 3,877 houses, 3,206 of which were valued at less than £10 per annum. This parish included the old core of the town and was bounded by Junction Street on the south and the river on the west. However, the parish extended eastwards to Leith Links and included the scattered residential developments at Hermitage Hill. Although the old heart of Leith was the principal residential component, several minor nineteenth century extensions formed distinctive units. The eastward growth from Constitution Street to Hermitage included most of the more highly valued residences in this Parish. Moreover, most of the other dwellings assessed at £20, which did not lie in this tract, were situated in new streets such as Bernard Street and South Junction Street.

In contrast, the extensive North Leith Parish, which encompassed all the lands on the north bank of the river from the docks to Trinity, was sparsely developed with only 1809 houses. Moreover, many of these were situated in an intensive development of tenement streets adjoining the docks and the river. This tract was flanked on the western side by several groups of better quality residences. At Bonnington the old mill centre had attracted several industrial premises whilst some residential speculation had produced a few streets of small flats in tenement buildings. The fishing village of Newhaven stood out as a sharply defined settlement unit, dominated by fishermen's cottages. Finally, there was a scatter of villas on the lands of Trinity and wardie, westward to the small harbour at Granton.

St. Cuthberts Parish was the smallest in the burgh, containing 530 houses. This parish marched with Edinburgh and included the western part of Leith Walk and the lands between Pilrig, the river and Junction Street and an isolated outlier at Wardie to the west of North Leith Parish.

Sixteen of the nineteen Grade I (see Fig. 7) residences were situated on the lands of Wardie and Trinity, in a pleasant rural setting amidst fields, hedgerows and farms. The largest house in Leith, however, was Pilrig House, with an assessment of £170 per annum, whilst two more Grade I houses were located on Hermitage Hill.

As Figure 8 shows, the principal cluster of Grade II houses was in the vicinity of Leith Links. Here several rows of terraced houses included 64 Grade II dwellings mostly occupied by local businessmen and merchants. Another cluster occurred at Trinity and Wardie, where a skeletal plot pattern of semi-detached and detached houses was beginning to develop. In Pilrig Street, thirteen terraced houses with rentals of between £50 and £65, faced a similar row on the Edinburgh side of the boundary. Their residents included several merchants, two cornfactors, a brewer, a minister, a sharebroker and the town clerk of Leith. The remaining Grade II residences were minor groups of terraced and semi-detached houses near Leith Walk and Ferry Road, or isolated detached dwellings, particularly in North Leith Parish.

Most of the 360 Grade III houses (Fig. 9) were also located in the newer areas of Leith or in streets created by the late eighteenth century improvements designed to improve road access to the harbour area. One concentration was situated between the old core and Leith Links whilst another involved several rows of terraced dwellings in the vicinity of Leith walk. The lands of Trinity and wardie contained a number of small villas and terraced houses in this rental grade, and a few streets in the more intensive part of the development in North Leith Parish included blocks of large flats and small "banks" of three, four or five terraced houses. Most of the Grade III residences were either small terraced residences or small villas. Although this house style might suggest possible undervaluation, they were small compared with suburban villas in Edinburgh. However, the fact that there was a genuine shortage of even modestly large, good quality houses in Leith may well have produced a situation in which some of these dwellings had greater social prestige than their monetary assessment might indicate. Examination of the valuation data does support this argument in certain cases, particularly in residences with relatively high Grade III rentals, where the residents included solicitors, wine merchants and bankers.

However, the distribution pattern of the 881 Grade IV dwellings was rather different, as Figure 10 shows. In South Leith Parish, the old core formed the dominant cluster. Moreover, although the newer streets

within the central area, such as Constitution Street and Bernard Street, were important sites of Grade IV residences, the largest concentration occurred in Kirkgate and a number of flats valued at between £10 and £20 were situated in the maze of wynds and closes which backed the waterside. A division existed between the old and new properties, with the latter having higher rentals and tending to attract residents with occupations similar to those in Grade III dwellings.

The distribution pattern of Grade IV residences in the eastern extension towards Leith Links was also different from that of the higher value grades. Thus, the streets adjoining the shore and the rope works contained several of these dwellings in predominantly lower class tenements amidst the numerous industrial premises. By comparison the slopes of Hermitage Hill had only minor clusters of Grade IV houses in some small streets of flatted blocks and cottages.

On the north bank of the river, the intensive area of urban development between the docks and Newhaven Road included a number of small clusters of Grade IV residences. In particular, a few streets in the vicinity of the North Fort Street contained one of the larger concentrations in this area. To the west, small clusters also occurred at Annfield, Newhaven and at Wardie. Finally, both the small urban nucleus at Bonnington and the linear development at Leith Walk, included some Grade IV houses, with the latter area being the more important location.

The 4830 Grade V residences in Leith amounted to 78% of all houses in the port. Moreover, their distribution pattern dominated the residential structure. As can be seen from Figure 11, the principal Grade V district was the old core of the seaport. Here, the numerous closes and wynds were crammed with old tenements in which most of the houses were one room dwellings with an annual assessment of less than 24 per annum. Often these juxtaposed with warehouses, chandlers' yards and workshops.

In the area to the east of Kirkcaldy the main concentrations of Grade V houses were situated beside the rope works in streets such as Fox Lane and in two streets of poor quality tenements and cottages on Hermitage Hill. Another knot of Grade V tenements were located near the foot of Leith Walk, in Duke Street and Glover Street. Elsewhere in and around Leith Walk itself, several rows of cottages were now joined by tenement blocks as the increased industrial status of this vicinity attracted speculators in the low rent section of the housing market.

In North Leith, the main clusters were located in the dockside area and at Newhaven, although minor clusters, occurred near the site of Leith Fort and beside the industrial zone at Bonnington.

The concentration of almost 350 Grade V residences at Newhaven was scarcely surprising for this was almost exclusively a fishing village of two storey tenements and tiny cottages. The village was socially quite isolated at this time and inter-marriage between Newhaven families

was the recognised pattern whilst the residents of Leith were considered to be outsiders. Witness of this isolation is provided in the valuation roll, for many families were clearly interrelated judging by the prevalence of a few family names, such as Croan and Carnie

Further west minor clusters adjoined the harbour area at Granton and at Wardie, where a row of cottages flanked the coast road, whilst a few Grade V residences were gardeners' and servants' cottages on the estates and large villa properties of Trinity.

Perhaps one of the most important features to emerge from the analysis of the pattern and data for Leith, is the strong suggestion that there was a shortage of large residences in the settlement and the possibility that demand was already exceeding supply and people were having to accept smaller dwellings. Certainly this would not be surprising, for the lands of Trinity and Hermitage were to experience rapid speculative construction of predominantly good quality houses in the second half of the nineteenth century. A further point of importance is the general containment within the old kernel of the settlement, often in extremely small, doubtless overcrowded, and certainly insanitary tenement flats in an advanced state of disrepair. The conditions were ripe for an explosion of urban growth in much the same way as Edinburgh had experienced almost one hundred years earlier.

The Status Areas of Leith in 1856.

The areas of Leith shown in Figure 12 were compiled in the same manner as those in Edinburgh. Leith had a simpler status pattern than the capital for most of the built-up area was a low status district. Only a few streets which were part of a redevelopment scheme in the last decade of the eighteenth century formed in nucleus of Grade III and IV residences within the old part of the settlement. Moreover, Grade V districts occurred beside the rope works, in the vicinity of Leith Walk and, in North Leith, beside the docks, at Bonnington and at Newhaven. The main higher status clusters were situated in suburban locations at Trinity and beside Leith Links. In both cases these were immature residential developments surrounded, and separated, by large tracts of undeveloped land. However, the several clusters at Trinity formed the skeletal pattern of a good status area particularly to the west of Newhaven Road.

The assessment and occupational data clearly indicated that Leith and Edinburgh were very different settlements, the seaport lacking the glittering élan of Edinburgh society and devoid of the Georgian terraced mansions like those in the New Town districts.

CHAPTER 3.

PART 1.

Economic and Urban Development 1855-1914.

The years between 1855 and 1914 were eventful in the residential expansion of Edinburgh and, to a lesser extent, Leith. After an initial period of localised minor accretions, several massive new areas were constructed between 1870 and 1900. In fact, the additions would probably have been even greater if the economic recession during the Boer War (1899-1902) had not served to deepen the speculative surge. Although this growth resulted from a complex interplay of economic and social forces, including factors such as rising incomes, increased house standards, greater spatial mobility on the part of the inhabitants and new locational forces, two factors were particularly significant.

Firstly, the fact that the population of Edinburgh almost doubled in the period of sixty years meant that an overwhelming demand for houses arose, particularly when it is remembered that much of the stock in 1855 was socially inadequate, lacking in facilities and space, and often in a state of physical disrepair. Secondly, Edinburgh was singularly fortunate in that the city was able to indulge in large-scale physical expansion by annexing almost 7,000 acres between 1881 and 1901, in the process trebling the area under municipal control and providing the much needed land for residential extension and recreational space. (See Figures 23 and 24).

During the initial phase between 1855 and 1870, the main additions merely involved the rounding-off of existing schemes. Thus, the western Extension to the New Town was enlarged to Haymarket, and the many gaps in the villa districts at Bruntsfield, Grange and Inverleith were gradually infilled. By 1870, however, the acute shortage of working class housing, combined with the new industrial developments in several parts of the city, fostered a phase of tenement building on what became an extensive scale. A whole complex of new tenement streets were laid out at Dalry, and then Gorgie, filling the area between the two main railway lines and producing a high density working class district. A similar development covered much of the lands eastwards of Leith walk, although here the relatively high feuing price of some plots of land prompted speculators to build larger middle class flats, so that the area did have a greater social admixture than its western counterpart.

In detail the pattern of extension and infilling was complex. The western Extension to the New Town, for example, was progressively developed until it reached Donaldson's Hospital. Here, the post-1855 buildings consisted of elegant streets of terraced and flatted houses of high value and considerable desirability. The trend was continued beyond the hospital in the villa cluster at Coates, where some of the most stringent feuing restrictions clearly defined the size, style and building materials of the houses. By the later decades of the nineteenth century this

westward expansion was further enlarged by the construction of terraced houses and large villas at Murrayfield, as the wealthier citizens began to invade Ravelston ridge and the slopes of Corstorphine Hill. Paradoxically, however, the land immediately south of much of this development from Haymarket to Roseburn increasingly assumed a different character, doubtless influenced by the presence of the main Edinburgh-Glasgow railway line and extensive sidings. Thus, the secluded Coates cluster faced one of the several working class "colonies" which were developed in Edinburgh between 1865 and 1900, in addition to the further presumably unattractive proximity of a large flour mill at Haymarket and a brewery at Roseburn. The "colonies" - there were others at Dalry, Slateford, Ashley, Abbeyhill, Restilrig and Stockbridge - originated from a self-improvement scheme¹ started by several masons in a building recession in the 1860's. This was formalised into the Edinburgh Co-operative Building Society and their first project started in 1861 at High Millar Place at Stockbridge. The typical house became a double flatted two-storey building, each floor being a separate house, with entry often from opposite sides or by outside stair to the upper flat.* The intention of the scheme was to allow tradesmen to own their homes. Initially the houses sold for between £130 and £250. Soon, the houses were purchasable on instalment

1. For account of Co-operative building groups in Edinburgh, see Marwick, W. "Economic Developments in Victorian Scotland" 1936, pp. 209-216.

* See Photographs 19 and 20.

schemes and building and property investment societies entered this market to provide additional financial resources. By the end of the nineteenth century, the Edinburgh Co-operative Building Society had constructed about 1,400 houses. Unfortunately, the cost of these dwellings tended to exceed the means of many of the working class.²

Several areas of better quality, higher value tenement dwellings were erected towards the end of the nineteenth century, notably at Comely Bank, Polwarth, Marchmont and Inverleith. This trend may have been necessitated, or at least encouraged, by spiralling feu prices but there was a large sector of demand for this type of housing. Possibly even more influential in some of these areas were the specific restrictions and instructions written into the feuing agreements between the superior and speculator. The development of the Warrender property at Marchmont and Bruntsfield, for example, was based on a rigid feuing design which, in effect, laid down the type, size and quality of the houses.

Of course, in areas of infill or where a development only reached completion in the post-1855 period, there were instances where greater variety was introduced by the newer elements. Even at Grange, which retained an overall attractive suburban character, the newer streets included a few incursions of tenement blocks on the margins, and several streets of late

2. Royal Commission on the Housing of the Industrial Population of Scotland. Report 1917. p. 267.

Victorian terraced houses.

An examination of the 1" O.S. map of 1893 (Fig. 13) shows that the residential boundary extended to Craigmillar Park in the south east and the Cluny Drive-Hermitage area in the southwest. West of this area, residences now covered the lands of Polwarth and Merchiston with a few suburban villas dotting the land of Craiglockhart. Fountainbridge was now intensively developed and linked to Dalry and Gorgie to form a massive industrial working class quarter stretching westward to Slateford and the water of Leith. Another western wedge had invaded Murrayfield, whilst the extension from the New Town had also swept down into Dean village with a finger reaching through Belford onto the crest of Ravenston ridge. Nearby, the terraced development beside the Dean Bridge, originating in Clarendon Crescent, now encompassed several streets and was linked physically with the Raeburn scheme at Stockbridge. Interleith still retained an unfinished appearance, partly accentuated by the playing fields of several city schools which now accounted for substantial tracts in this district. Intensification of development had occurred on much of the lands between Broughton and Leith, although large gaps still remained. In general, development had been fragmented and spasmodic so that streets of different house types tended to produce an irregular pattern lacking cohesion in places. Tenement building had filled much of the land to the east of Leith Walk as far as Abbeyhill and the trend was continuing towards Meadowbank.

Thus, even by 1898 the urban expansion had reached, and in places considerably surpassed, the city boundary of 1855. Edinburgh was, therefore, fortunate in negotiating the massive boundary extensions of the last two decades of the nineteenth century which ensured a supply of green land and potential building sites for several decades. The Town Council reserved the southern hill group of Craiglockhart, Blackford and Fraid Hills as city parks and recreational areas; a decision which influenced the attractiveness of the adjacent land and preserved an area of green land on the southern periphery of the city, just as the playing fields did on the northern margin.

By 1914, Portobello was being embraced by urban tentacles spreading from Edinburgh. One straggling finger of urban development stretched from Willowbrae along Portobello Road whilst a less continuous ribbon lined the inland, secondary, route to Joppa along Milton Road. To the northwest of Edinburgh, a small clump of villas had been constructed at Blackhall close to Craigleith Station, and further west, another smaller grouping clustered around Barnton Station. Indeed, this suburban station-villa cluster relationship, which had followed upon the development of the line in the 1850's, also existed at Pinkhill in the Corstorphine area and at Craiglockhart and Colinton to the southwest of the city. Portobello, of course, had also benefitted and several streets of terraced dwellings and villas had been erected eastwards of the station between the High Street and the main east coast railway line. Doubtless the stations at

Morningside and Newington both helped to promote residential expansion in their respective areas but in these cases the urban frontier had already reached those points prior to the construction of the railway. At Blackhall, a sizeable open area lay between the cluster and the edge of the urban area of the city. To a large extent, the Pinkhill cluster was similarly situated although a few streets of small terraced houses had recently been erected at Saughtonhall, thereby starting the infilling between this outlier and the main urban margin at Murrayfield and Roseburn.

Nor was the city without industrial growth during the period 1855 to 1914. (See Fig. 22). The now traditional industries, printing, milling and brewing, all enjoyed further prosperity and a large degree of relocation. In printing, for example, firms such as Nelson's, Johnston's and Clark's, moved from central sites to more peripheral locations at Dalkeith Road, Easter Road and Brandon Terrace respectively. The brewery complex at Canongate and Holyrood was intensified by the creation of several new concerns, but the major companies also built new premises such as maltings at Abbeyhill and Moray Park, less than one mile from the hub of the industry on sites where space was available to accommodate these large buildings. However, brewing also moved to completely new locations such as Fountainbridge, Roseburn and Cragmillar, in the later decades of the nineteenth century. Hence, the industry experienced concentration and dispersion in its locational characteristics. Similarly, in distilling new premises were erected

at Gorgie in addition to extensions to existing premises at Haymarket and Leith. In engineering, several new factories developed, often on peripheral sites such as that of Bruce Peebles at Pilton. Moreover, new large industrial complexes had developed around major rail concentrations at Dalry-Gorgie and Leith Walk-Easter Road. The largest single employer was now the rubber factory which occupied the site of the old silk mills beside the Union Canal. The North British Rubber Company was manufacturing a wide range of products for a rapidly growing market. Adjacent buildings had been converted to vulcanite production in the 1860's and a waterproof clothing factory had also joined the complex, to form a significant growth node by 1914.

By and large, however, Edinburgh did not have major industrial concentrations like some other British cities at this time, but rather it had a scatter of industry of varied size and intensity with marked focalisation at significant communication points. Suburban industrial sites were developing with the suburban railway line acting as one important magnet. Thus, on the stretch following the Jordanburn valley a number of small factories and laundries were established in the 1880's. Interestingly, none of these industrial establishments had sidings or direct access to the railway, so they were not really related with the line. In all probability the fact that the railway owned the adjacent land explained this location, for the railway probably attempted to encourage industrial development. These industries and the coal depots at Morningside and Newington detracted from the desirability of these sites for residential

purposes and the western portion, in particular, was devoted to blocks of tenement dwellings. *

Apart from residential expansion and industrial ramification, Edinburgh was also experiencing internal re-organisation. The commercial invasion of much of the New Town was now almost complete and Adams could write of it, in 1911, that "scarcely an original house remains unchanged in Princes Street or George Street, all the private residences being converted into public offices, hotels or shops."³ Several major shops in Princes Street, such as Darlings, Small, Jenners and Forsyth, date between 1852 and 1907. Similarly the sizeable complex of railway-orientated buildings between Princes Street and North Bridge, including the North British Hotel, were all developed between 1880 and 1910. At the opposite end of Princes Street, the Caledonian Hotel was rebuilt in its present form at this time, replacing an earlier building destroyed by fire. By 1914 the office quarter had started to infiltrate the inner fringes of the New Town extensions and major secondary shopping street, such as North and South Bridge, were acquiring their own cluster of department stores.

Elsewhere the pre-1850 residential pattern was being altered by institutional invasion. At Lauriston, for example, the long established Heriot's School was joined in the 1880's by the new Royal Infirmary, the Simpson Memorial Maternity Hospital, Chalmers Hospital and the University Medical School. By 1914, the chief

3. Adams, T. "Town Planning in Edinburgh" Arch.Rev. 1910 p. 313.

* See photograph 37.

Fire Station and Edinburgh Art College had been added to this complex. In George Square substantial conversion occurred between 1890 and 1913 with more than a dozen of the original houses being replaced or altered to accommodate Watson's College, the Sisters of Charity, the Edinburgh Medical Missionary Society, the College of Agriculture, the Geological Survey of Scotland, the Deaconess Rest House and two University Halls of Residence. In other parts of the city, hospitals, schools and other institutions were consuming large areas of land and interrupting and fragmenting the residential pattern. Possibly the largest suburban institutional grouping was situated at Morningside where hospitals for the treatment of mental and nervous diseases occupied three large houses at Tipperlinn and the impressive Craig House site on top of East Craiglockhart Hill. Thus, along with the land required for the expanding railway sidings and the proliferation of new lines, for the playing fields of schools, and the now fashionable sport of golf, much of the fringe of 1850 had been consumed compelling the residential growth to leap far beyond and seek new sites as the inner area became fully developed and pressures built up from industrial growth and the need for rehousing and rebuilding much of the Old Town quarter reached an acute stage.

The Edinburgh Improvement Scheme of 1867 had produced some changes in the Old Town district. Several new streets were created, including Jeffrey Street, Cranston Street and Chambers Street, but this did little to add to the already inadequate supply of houses. Indeed, as

institutions such as the Royal Scottish Museum, Heriot-Watt College and Edinburgh Dental Hospital, dominated Chambers Street, it was quite likely that there was a decline in the number of houses. Although housing conditions had been improved to some extent by various acts requiring water supply and the provision of minimal sanitation in the tiny flats of the old tenement properties, no major breakthrough could occur until a massive building programme was undertaken. Thus, the "colonies", the few Council-owned tenement developments and even the quite large new tenement areas did very little to reduce the density or squalor of the Old Town closes and wynds, for much of this new housing pool was absorbed simply by population increase. Indeed, the population of Edinburgh and its environs grew by 204,531 between 1851 and 1901.⁴ Moreover, this occurred at a period when the birth rate in Edinburgh fell from 35.5 births per 1000 population in 1861 to 24.9 in 1901. Although the death rate also fell from 24.4 per 1000 population to 19.4 over the same period, there was a substantial balance which was met by immigration. Thus, in 1911, 90% of the inhabitants of Edinburgh were born in Scotland but only 54% listed the capital as their birthplace.⁵

Improvements in local communications between 1855 and 1914 undoubtedly facilitated the massive spatial expansion. The suburban railway, for example, encouraged feuing at Barnton, Craigleith, Corstorphine, Craiglockhart,

4. Keir, D. op. cit. p. 99.

5. ibid. p. 106.

Colinton, Blackford, Newington and Portobello. The Edinburgh Street Tramways Act of 1871 had a more universal impact because it fostered what soon became a widespread intra-urban communication system. From one service in 1873 the system expanded to 90 cars and 1,100 horses in 1893. But the site of Edinburgh presented serious problems for horse-cars because of the steep inclines, particularly from the raised shoreline to Lang Dykes ridge, and, in 1884, the Edinburgh Northern Tramway Company opened cable car routes linking Princes Street with the northern suburbs. By 1899 the complete route from Pilrig at the Leith boundary to Braid in the south was under cable haulage, with cars running every ten minutes. At this time a motor bus service was also started between Haymarket and the General Post Office, at the east end of Princes Street, but the full impact of this development awaited the formation several years later of the Scottish Motor Traction Company which commenced a regional service to towns and villages in the Lothians.

Leith also experienced considerable expansion and alteration. By 1914 the peripheral extensions at Trinity and Hermitage had reached an advanced stage. In both cases, a range of house types characterised the infilling, so that these were now very pleasant but varied residential areas containing several subregions. A large tenement quarter now covered the lands between Leith Walk and Lochend Road, forming the counterpart of

a similar district immediately south on the Edinburgh-side of the municipal boundary. Amidst this extensive area, several large industrial premises interrupted the pattern as did the railway line to Leith Walk Station. Within the Old Town of Leith an Improvement Scheme had been initiated, in 1877, aimed at reducing the high population densities and creating better housing conditions. The principal feature of the project was the redevelopment of an area between Great Junction Street and Tolbooth Wynd, involving the removal of eighteen closes and numerous decayed old tenement blocks. As in Edinburgh this tended to aggravate rather than solve housing problems because of the number of families displaced in the process. Moreover, since the only new working class developments were those at Bonnington and around Easter Road, these had scarcely managed to accommodate the population increase of 40,000 persons, let alone rehouse families from the Old Town Improvement Scheme.

Although Leith was now completely overshadowed by Glasgow as a trading centre, the enormous growth of trade meant that Leith did enjoy expansion and prosperity. Eddington writing in 1904 was able to provide the following description:

"In the handling of the exports and imports there enter the docks every day about 1,500 railway waggons and over 3,000 carts and lorries. The imports of flow and provisions are sent to all the eastern and southern counties from Fife to Berwick; esparto and paper-making materials to the valleys of the Esk, to Berwick and to

Linlithgow; flax and hemp to Fife, Greenock and Ireland; sugar to Greenock; train loads of fruit to Glasgow, Dundee, Aberdeen and other towns."⁶ The major imports were barley, sugar and deals and logs, whilst the major export was coal, although beer, flour, herrings, refined sugar, paper and sulphate of ammonia derived from oil shale, were all quite substantial commodities. To handle this increased trade and the conversion to steamship, several new docks had been constructed with the Albert, Edinburgh and Imperial docks respectively opened in 1865, 1881 and 1902. Given this potential Leith was flourishing as a warehouse and industrial centre. Existing concerns such as the bonded warehouses of North Leith were expanded whilst new factories such as the Bonnington Sugar Refinery added further variety to the industrial structure. Newhaven remained a small but vigorous fishing port, drawing considerable benefit from improved communications and the expanding urban markets of the Lothians.

Further west, Granton was now mainly a coal port although the trawler base was starting to develop. On the foreshore west of the harbour itself several industries had taken up sites and, in 1902, a large gas works was erected on the raised shoreline above this point, taking advantage of established rail links and the easy access to coal.

Portobello, the other major coastal settlement in close proximity to the capital, was incorporated into the city in 1896. With its complex role of seaside resort, industrial centre and commuter settlement, Portobello consisted of several distinct areas which lay in close juxtaposition within the basically linear burgh. The

north western part of the town was the principal industrial site including some works which were still using the clays of the Braidburn for bricks and pottery, although the largest concern was a glassworks at Baileyfield Road. By contrast, the Promenade and Joppa acted as the main resort and retirement foci, whilst the High Street and, to a lesser extent, Bath Street united the settlement by serving as the principal commercial centres. Portobello was a popular holiday resort at this period, with a pier and many of the other trappings associated with this function. The coming of the railway had added a third element, commuters, and fostered the tract of villas and terraced houses to the east of the station. Nevertheless, by 1891 Portobello only contained 8,182 inhabitants and even by 1914 the figure was probably less than 20,000. However, incorporation did encourage some linking with Edinburgh along the principal thoroughfares, initiating a framework which was subsequently completed in the twentieth century.

The period 1855 to 1914 was also an important one for much of the land around Edinburgh. There were widespread improvements in agriculture, doubtless encouraged by improved transportation and a rapidly expanding urban market. However, the industrial changes were possibly even more significant with the flourishing of coalmining in Midlothian and oil shale mining and refining in West Lothian, employing 4,000 and 2,000 men respectively. Both industries contributed valuable materials for Edinburgh industry, as well as increasing the trading and commerce of the capital. Within the city boundary the main pits were at Gilmerton, Newcraighall and Niddrie. In the

case of the last two particularly, characteristic villages of brick-built miners' cottages were erected and remain to this date as witness of the mineral workings in the area. In addition, there were more than twenty paper mills in the Lothians, with Inveresk as the principal focus, though the largest mill was at Penicuik.

By this period commuting extended beyond the city boundary and small villa developments had been erected at Eskbank, Balerno and Craigmiles. Moreover, it is likely that nearby towns such as Musselburgh and Dalkeith included a small commuting element in their residential population.

Thus, considerable change had occurred in the residential and economic pattern of Edinburgh and Leith deriving from new developments and the re-organisation of existing areas. These residential changes are described and analysed in the remainder of this chapter.

CHAPTER 3.

PART 2.

Introduction to the Residential Analysis.

Appendices 2A and 2B respectively show the house valuation statistics for Edinburgh and Leith in 1914-15.

The 73,485 houses in Edinburgh had a mode value of £10, a median of £14 and upper and lower quartiles of £22 and £9, whilst the minimum assessment was £2 and the maximum £450. In Leith, where the assessment range was £2 to £230, the 18,262 houses had a mode of £9, median of £11 and quartiles of £9 and £16. This contrasted with the 1855-56 statistics. Then the rental range in Edinburgh was £1 to £220, the mode was less than £4 and median £6, whereas, the 6,218 houses in Leith in 1856 had a rental range of £1 to £170 and a mode of less than £3 and median of £5. Thus, in 1914, there was a wider assessment range which, although still skewed towards lower values, peaked at a higher point than the 1855-56 figures. In part this resulted from inflation of house values in the intervening period but the main cause was the construction of a large number of residences with between two and six apartments and the demolition of many of the one room tenement dwellings which dominated the mid-nineteenth century assessment structure.

In order to investigate the statistical relationship between house assessment and occupational status, the correlation (r) was calculated by means of

Pearson's Product Moment method¹ for a sample of 9049 dwellings in Edinburgh and 2872 houses in Leith in 1914-15. Occupations were classified by means of the scheme, already discussed, in the 1921 census. The sample attempted to cover all wards and values to ensure spatial and assessment representation. Because the entries in the Valuation Roll did not all provide occupational data a random sample was inoperable. As a result, values in excess of £20 per annum were disproportionately represented in the calculation. However, these values involved the greatest area of occupational variation and, therefore, provided an even more stringent test of the correlation. The correlation, r , for Edinburgh was +0.76 and, for Leith, +0.73^{*}. Since the occupational grades contained some broad categories which generalised several potential status positions, these were quite high correlations. The relationship between value and occupancy and occupancy and employment status were also examined. In Edinburgh, for example, 73% of the houses in the sample with assessments in excess of £111 were owner-occupied and conversely, all houses under £20 were rented. This illustrates the bias in the sample for the true percentages were 61% and 4.4% respectively. In terms of house occupancy characteristics and employment status, the range in Edinburgh was from 49% owner-occupied houses for occupational Grade I to 0% for Grade V.

1. For explanation of this method see Cole, J.P. and King, C.A. "Quantitative Geography" 1968 pp. 138-146, 148, 150-151, 287-294.

* See Appendix 4.

From an examination of Appendices 2A and 2B it can be seen that owner-occupancy still increased in relation to house assessment and that the tendency toward bunching on particular values above £40 per annum remained a feature of the distributions.

In the construction of a rental typology the need to maintain comparability with the other period analysis was recognised. However, given a different assessment pattern this presented problems. Five grades were calculated in a manner similar to that of 1855-56, using assessments and ancillary information about resident's occupations and house types. In general, the grades had the same occupational composition as those of the preceding analysis. Nevertheless, they are not assumed to be identical but rather broad equivalents, again providing a means of analysis and comparative investigation.

Warr commenting about the complex status structure suggests that many fine shadings existed.² Whilst this is true, he also recognised broad categories similar to those of early Victorian Edinburgh. In the construction of assessment grades it is the broad categories which were of prime concern; subsequent analysis might reveal the intricacy of the spatial pattern.

Because of the relatively small numbers involved local authority houses were included as part of the appropriate assessment grade. In any case they were overwhelmingly confined to the lowest assessments and their residents were principally engaged in unskilled and semi-skilled occupations. Thus, they were genuine equivalents of other dwellings of similar assessment. One final general comment concerns the relationship

2. Keir, D. op. cit. p. 59.

between the Valuation Rolls of the two settlements. The urban areas of Edinburgh and Leith now had several points of contact. As a result, it was possible to compare dwellings and there was no identifiable difference in the assessment of residences of similar type and size. Moreover, with the high degree of physical contiguity between the two burghs, it was reasonable to analyse residential structure simultaneously using the same system of assessment grades.

The five grades were: Grade I £115 and over, Grade II £70-£114, Grade III £40 to £69, Grade IV £21 to £39, Grade V £1 to £20. These produced the following distributions with 1855 figures listed alongside for comparison:

EDINBURGH RESIDENTIAL ASSESSMENT STRUCTURE

<u>Assessment Grade</u>	<u>1914</u> <u>No. of</u> <u>Houses</u>	<u>% of</u> <u>Total</u>	<u>Assessment</u> <u>Grade</u>	<u>1855</u> <u>No. of</u> <u>Houses</u>	<u>% of</u> <u>Total</u>
Grade I	1299	1.8	I	983	3.2
II	2231	3.0	II	1328	4.4
III	4629	6.3	III	3232	10.7
IV	13615	18.5	IV	4367	14.4
V	<u>51711</u>	70.4	V	<u>20408</u>	67.3
	73485			30318	

* Had the 1855 grade percentages been adopted the 1914 categories would have been £1-20, £21-32, £33-59, £60-99, £100 and above, on the basis of the Edinburgh figures.

LEITH RESIDENTIAL ASSESSMENT STRUCTURE

<u>Assessment Grade</u>	<u>1914 No. of Houses</u>	<u>% of Total</u>	<u>Assessment Grade</u>	<u>1856 No. of Houses</u>	<u>% of Total</u>
I	12	0.1	I	19	0.3
II	104	0.6	II	128	2.0
III	682	3.7	III	360	5.8
IV	1599	8.8	IV	881	14.2
V	15865	86.8	V	4830	77.7
	<u>18262</u>			<u>6218</u>	

Three features were of particular note. Firstly, Edinburgh had added a large number of relatively high valued houses whilst the figures for Leith had actually declined. This was primarily due to a phase of Victorian terraced development in Edinburgh which had no counterpart in the port. Secondly, there was a substantial increase in the number of Grade IV residences notably in Edinburgh, reflecting the additions in the late nineteenth century of several schemes of flatted tenements and small terraced houses. Thirdly, there had also been a considerable growth in the number of Grade V dwellings, despite clearance of one room properties and a general increase in assessments at the lower end of the scale. This reflected the volume of population growth and the fact that much of this involved immigrants of low occupational status.

Since the data was listed, collected and initially tabulated on a ward basis, a simple preliminary analysis was made using this base unit.

The municipal Wards (Fig. 14) were ranked by assessment grades and in terms of total number of houses, with prime rank representing the greatest number of dwellings in a particular grade. (see Tables 5 and 6).

TABLE 5.

RANKING OF WARDS OF EDINBURGH 1914.

<u>WARD</u>	<u>ASSESSMENT GRADES</u>					<u>TOTAL NO. OF HOUSES</u>
	<u>I</u>	<u>II</u>	<u>III</u>	<u>IV</u>	<u>V</u>	
1	8	7	11	8	5	4
2	12 *	14 *	15	12	3	5
3	5	1	1	5	14	10
4	4	2	2	1	16	1
5	6	4	3	2	9	3
6	12 *	13	13	14	6	9
7	1	3	6	10	15	15
8	2	5	5	9	12	14
9	11	12	8	3	10	13
10	7	6	7	6	8	11
11	3	8	10	15	13	16
12	12 *	10	12	13	4	8
13	12 *	14 *	16	7	2	6
14	10	9	9	16	7	7
15	12 *	14 *	14	11	1	2
16	9	11	4	4	11	12

* Indicates equal rank

TABLE 6.RANKING OF WARDS OF LEITH: 1914.

<u>WARD</u>	<u>ASSESSMENT GRADES</u>					<u>TOTAL NO. OF HOUSES.</u>
	I	II	III	IV	V	
1	3 *	2	2	2	5	5
2	3 *	5 *	5 *	5	1	2
3	3 *	5 *	5 *	6	6	6
4	3 *	3 *	4	3	4	4
5	1	1	1	1	3	1
6	2	3 *	3	4	2	3

In the case of Leith considerable differences in ward size and the small numbers of Grade I and II residences reduced the value of this tabulation but, in Edinburgh, some interesting features emerged.

In most instances the Wards had high rank in some grades and low positions for others, with Wards which ranked high for Grades I, II, III and IV, and occupying low positions in Grade V, the converse relationship also applied. However the ranking peak varied from Ward to Ward, as the table shows. Newington, Ward 3, ranked first in Grades II and III and fourteenth in Grade V. Similarly, St. Leonards, Ward 15, was the principal Grade V district but had the least number of Grade I and II houses and ranked fourteenth in Grade III.

However, this ranking does not reflect the percentage relationships. Figure 15 attempts to show this by mapping the percentage of houses in each ward with annual assessments in excess of £20, i.e. Grades I, II III and IV.

* Indicates equal rank.

Morningside, Newington and Haymarket wards all had more than 55% of their dwellings with assessments in excess of £20 per annum, whilst Portobello, Merchiston and St. Bernard's Wards had more than one third of their houses in this range. Conversely, at least 95% of the houses in Dalry, Gorgie and Calton wards in Edinburgh and in Wards 1 to 4 in Leith were assessed at between £2 and £20.

Part 3 examines, in detail, the residential structure of Edinburgh and Leith in 1914-15.

CHAPTER 3.

PART 3.

Analysis of the Residential Structure of Edinburgh and Leith: 1914-15.

The 1,299 Grade I residences in Edinburgh represented 1.8% of all dwellings in the city. By contrast there were only twelve Grade I houses in Leith, less than 0.1% of all houses in the port.

The spatial pattern, Figure 16, can be summarised in a number of zones and minor groupings. The New Town and its extensions, particularly the enlarged western Extension, contained 59.4% of all Grade I residences in Edinburgh. A further 11.1% of the dwellings in this rental category were located on the lands of Learmonth. To the west of these areas another concentration totalling 70 Grade I residences was situated at Coates and on the slopes of Ravelston ridge at Murrayfield. Thus, a zone extending from Regent Terrace, to Murrayfield contained three quarters of the Grade I houses in Edinburgh.

The southern suburban villa district was the site of 266 Grade I houses, one fifth of all residences in this grade. Finally, a small cluster of thirty dwellings was situated at Inverleith and a few isolated Grade I houses were located at George Square, Duddingston, Portobello and Warriston.

Within the New Town and its extensions the pattern differed substantially from that of the mid-nineteenth century. The New Town and the Eastern and Northern Extensions had all declined in importance as sites

of Grade I residences, whereas the Western Extension had blossomed to become the largest Grade I district. This was largely due to the completion of the latter with the erection of streets and crescents of terraced houses between 1870 and 1895 on the remaining land between Donaldson's Hospital and the Water of Leith. In 1914, these post 1855 additions contained two thirds of the Grade I houses in the Western Extension. Indeed, these streets included some of the largest residences in Edinburgh as Table 7 reveals. Rothesay Terrace was the site of several particularly large

Table 7 Principal Grade I Locations:
Western Extension 1914.

<u>No. of Grade 1 houses.</u>	<u>Rental Range</u>	<u>Mean Grade I Rental</u>
* Palmerston Place 40	£120-240	£151
* Drumsheugh Gdns. 39	£160-270	£219
* Chester Street 28	£115-230	£157
* Glencairn Cres. 27	£125-160	£148
* Douglas Cres. 27	£130-190	£154
* Coates Gdns. 25	£115-140	£124
* Eglinton Cres. 24	£140-225	£191
* Magdala Cres. 24	£115-175	£128
* Rothesay Terr. 23	£150-450	£238
* Grosvenor Cres. 20	£180-290	£205
Manor Place 36	£120-200	£144
Melville Street 28	£118-175	£152
Walker Street 23	£115-210	£136
Lynedoch Place 15	£115-175	£134

* Post 1855 additions.

dwelling including one assessed at £450, the highest value in Edinburgh. Coates Gardens and Magdala Crescent were

examples of streets of slightly smaller terraced houses on the western periphery of the district.

By contrast, the Georgian and early Victorian part of the extension was now experiencing invasion by non-residential land uses, notably hotels in Melville Street and institutions such as schools at Atholl Crescent. However, even the Grade I dwellings which had survived in this section had significantly lower assessments than the splendid new terraced properties at Rothesay Terrace, Drumsheugh Gardens and Grosvenor Crescent.

Displacement of residences by other land uses was a marked feature of the New Town structure at this period. As a result, the district now contained twenty five Grade I residences, twenty one of these being located at Charlotte Square. However, the latter had retained its position as a fashionable residential site and the large terraced houses^{*}, mean value £236, were the residences of a number of notable medical specialists.

The Moray development had resisted invasion by non-residential land uses and in 1914 it was an important Grade I district. In particular, Moray Place, Ainslie Place and Randolph Crescent, with mean values of £217, £195 and £190 respectively, had emerged as the principal residential site of the leading advocates although the largest house in the development was the property of a nobleman. Interestingly the same situation occurred in Charlotte Square where the largest house was owned by the Marquess of Bute.^{*}

In 1914 the Eastern Extension contained thirty one Grade I residences, of which twenty were situated in

* See photograph *b*.

* Centre house in Photograph *b*.

Regent Terrace. The decline in the number of Grade I residences between 1855 and 1914 is largely attributable to the comparatively modest size of these terraced dwellings compared with some in the Western Extension and Moray Property. The mean value of the Grade I houses in Regent Terrace, for example, was only £123 per annum.

Perhaps the most striking change had occurred in the Northern Extension which, in 1914, was the site of eighty-eight Grade I houses. Three streets, Heriot Row, Abercromby Place and Royal Circus dominated the Grade I pattern in this district accounting for seventy one of the eighty eight houses in the uppermost rental grade. Several factors had contributed to the decline in the number of Grade I houses in the Northern Extension. Invasion by hotels, offices, clubs and other institutions had reduced the number of large terraced properties in several streets. Moreover, some subdivision of the large houses had occurred. However, a third factor was difference in the rental range of Grade I in 1855 and 1914. Whereas some streets such as Charlotte Square had increased in assessment in the interval several streets in the Northern Extension had practically the same rental as sixty years earlier. Thus the decline in the Northern Extension to some extent reflected the entry of new large terraced houses into the total house structure of the city.

Heriot Row and Abercromby Place had certainly retained their residential attractiveness, even though the mean values were only £160 and £155 respectively, for the occupational information suggested that these were

fashionable streets. Plan 1 illustrates a typical terraced house in Heriot Row which, in 1914, was assessed at £160 and occupied by a University Professor. Amongst the residents of Grade I houses in Heriot Row there were the Lyon King-of-Arms, the Lord Justice General, the Solicitor-General, two judges, seven solicitors, ten advocates and a number of doctors and merchants.

Learmonth, an embryonic district in 1855, had blossomed later in the nineteenth century and, in 1914, it included several streets of terraced houses on the sloping site overlooking the Dean Gorge. In fact, 130 of the 144 Grade I dwellings in this district were located in six streets. Interestingly, the earliest development, Clarendon Crescent had become overshadowed by the larger terraced houses of Belgrave Crescent and Learmonth Terrace. The latter included the substantial town mansion of a city wine merchant which was assessed at £400 per annum. This district had attracted members of various professions as well as leaders in commerce and several persons of noble birth. In general, however, the particularly large houses were occupied by merchants and the occupational information in the Valuation Roll suggested that this was an important residential area for leaders of commerce.

To the west of Donaldson's Hospital, the small villa development on the lands of West Coates, erected under very stringent feuing conditions, contained 16 Grade I residences, the maximum rental being £190. Many of the residents were businessmen, and combined with the different

house type, this area had a distinct independent character from the nearby terraced Western Extension.

Even prior to the annexation of the lands of Roseburn and Murrayfield, speculative housing development had spread on to the slopes of Corstorphine Hill. By 1914, several streets of terraced houses were laid out and villa development dotted the slopes westwards to Belmont. In addition, a second villa cluster had emerged on the eastern side of Corstorphine village near Pinkhill Station in the county of Midlothian.

The cluster at Murrayfield contained thirty nine Grade I dwellings and another small group of houses in this rental grade were situated at Belford at the eastern flank of Ravelston ridge.

Some of the houses at Murrayfield were substantial properties with assessments in excess of £250, although most of the terraced houses and villas were valued between £115 and £140.

The second important zone of Grade I houses covered an extensive area on the southern periphery of Edinburgh. Many of the houses in this district were villas, often large mansions, and the general pattern involved a dispersion of these properties through the district with few marked areas of concentration. Indeed the largest grouping in one street consisted of sixteen houses at Colinton Road. Moreover, it was also part of the principal cluster which involved a number of streets on the lands between Colinton Road and Polwarth Terrace. Although the Victorian villas in this cluster did not rival

the size of the very large terraced houses at Rothesay Terrace or Drumsheugh Gardens, it was, nonetheless, an area of large properties, the mean Grade I rental in Colinton Road, for example, was £178 per annum.

Smaller groups of Grade I residences also occurred at Greenhill, Grange Loan and Newington. In the latter case, most of these residences were located in Minto Street and Craigmillar Park.

With the scattered distribution of Grade I residences it was difficult to discern any clear occupational characteristics on the southern suburban zone. Several occupations did occur which were not found in the New Town areas. However, these involved rather unique occupations such as Archbishop and Rear Admiral, although it may have been significant that a few of the villa owners were recorded as farmers and colliery owners. One noticeable feature was the comparatively small number of doctors and lawyers listed in the Valuation Roll of this district.

The northern villa district at Inverleith was still a small residential unit encompassed by several playing fields which effectively restricted the growth of this residential area (see Fig. 23). The main focus of Grade I dwellings occurred at Inverleith Place on the northern fringe of the Botanical Gardens and adjoined on the west and north by other parks and playing fields.

Finally, eleven of the twelve Grade I residences in Leith were situated at Trinity; the other being Pilrig House. The largest dwelling, assessed at £230, was the

mansion of the shipowning Salvessen family and was situated opposite the northern end of Inverleith Row. Although occupations were listed for only six of the Grade I residents it is interesting that five were shipowners suggesting that Trinity mansions had a strong attraction for the leading entrepreneurs of Leith. As in the southern suburban area in Edinburgh, these substantial dwellings were surrounded by streets of smaller villas and terraced houses but the extensive grounds and high stone walls gave seclusion and privacy.

The distribution of Grade II residences, Figure 17, differed considerably from that of Grade I dwellings. In this case the southern suburban zone was the principal location accounting for 55.1% of all Grade II residences in Edinburgh, whereas the New Town and its extensions contained 18.6% of the houses in this rental grade. Thus, the relative importance of the districts was the converse of the Grade I relationship. A third concentration of 293 (13.1%) Grade II houses occurred on the lands of Coates, Murrayfield and Ravelston.

There were also small clusters at Inverleith, Learmonth, Lauriston, Portobello and in the Old Town. In addition, a few isolated Grade II dwellings occurred in several locations.

At Newington, in the southern zone, streets of villas had spread southwards down the slopes of Grange ridge and creating an extensive district of pleasant suburban dwellings. Two groupings of Grade II houses

occurred. Firstly, Minto Street-Craigmillar Park formed the central axis of a zone which included adjacent streets, especially in the area between Dalkeith Road and Minto Street and between Craigmillar Park and Mayfield Road. Secondly, several streets on Grange ridge westwards of Causewayside, with Dick Place and Lauder Road as the largest examples, formed a smaller focus of Grade II dwellings.

At the western end of Grange ridge a small cluster of Grade II villas was situated at Bruntsfield and Greenhill. In the last quarter of the nineteenth century, suburban expansion had invaded the slopes of Braid and Comiston and this district formed an important Grade II villa cluster, notably at Cluny Gardens, Cluny Drive, Hermitage Gardens, Midmar Gardens and Braid Avenue. Some of the houses in this district were large Grade II dwellings; those in Corrennie Gardens, for example, had a mean value of £93. Indeed a few mansions in Braid Avenue and Hermitage Drive were substantial Grade I dwellings. (See photographs 40 and 41).

The final component of the southern suburban zone was located at Merchiston. Here, Polwarth Terrace, Merchiston Avenue, Merchiston Park and Colinton Road were all sites of a number of Grade II dwellings.

In general the southern suburban zone was a villa district in which the houses ranged in size from £55 to over £200. Photographs 12, 13, 14, 17, 18 and Plan 3 illustrate some of the Grade II and Grade III houses in the Grange district. The occupants of Grade II houses in the southern zone included businessmen, accountants, doctors, ministers, and senior officials of bodies such as the Board of Agriculture.

In 1914, the New Town and Moray development respectively contained eleven and twenty Grade II residences. In both areas, these were mostly flats although a few were small terraced houses in the peripheral minor streets such as Randolph Cliff and Hope Street.

Most of the Grade II houses in the Eastern Extension were situated in Royal Terrace, Regent Terrace and Carlton Terrace. However, these were large dwellings for Grade II; the mean values were £103, £104 and £93 respectively. Moreover, the occupational structure reflected the 1855 pattern with several merchants and businessmen among the residents, so these streets were probably still deemed fashionable by wealthy citizens.

Although the Northern Extension was the site of more than two hundred Grade II houses, three streets, Northumberland Street, Great King Street and Drummond Place accounted for two thirds of the Grade II residences in the district. Moreover, they had also been important Grade II foci in 1855. In 1914, most of the houses were terraced dwellings, although a few in Great King Street may have been flatted residences. However, those in Northumberland Street and Drummond Place were apparently relatively small for both had low mean values. By comparison, the occupations of the residents suggested the streets enjoyed quite high social standing. The residents of Northumberland Street, for example, included

fifteen advocates, five solicitors, four doctors and two sheriffs, in addition to other professional men and businessmen. Moreover, this concentration of members of the legal profession sharply distinguished this district from streets of comparable rental characteristics in the southern suburb. It would certainly appear, therefore, that some streets within the Northern Extension dominated by Grade II residences had become the important residential quarters of members of the legal profession. Whether this trend necessarily implies any general discrepancy between the status of these streets and assessed rental, or merely the operation of special attractive features for one occupational group, is an important consideration. Given the important role of the larger Grade I residences in Moray Place and Heriot Row for the same profession, it may be that the New Town areas had a subtle residential ranking within the legal profession as its members adopted these districts as their main place of work as well as residence.

Within the western Extension there were a few Grade II dwellings in several streets, but the only clusters occurred at Roseberry Crescent and Coates Gardens. However, these were comparatively large Grade II houses; those in Coates Gardens, for example, having a mean value of £102. The 1855 section of this district had suffered invasion by non residential land uses and few groups of Grade II residences now existed.

To the west, the developments at West Coates, Murrayfield and Ravelston included 293 Grade II houses.

This district involved a mixture of terraced dwellings and villas, which, at Murrayfield in particular, were juxtaposed. Indeed, the streets which had been developed on the slopes at Murrayfield contained more than two thirds of the Grade II residences in the district and most of the main clusters. In the principal streets of Murrayfield Gardens,* Murrayfield Avenue and Garscube Terrace where rows of three storey terraced houses ascended the slopes of the ridge, considerable homogeneity of size and style occurred. In Garscube Terrace, for example, 20 of the 29 Grade II houses were assessed at £88 per annum. The occupations of the residents of the Grade II houses in this district were similar to those of most of the Grade II areas, although there were a number of Army officers, bankers and solicitors in addition to merchants, businessmen and professional men such as ministers and doctors.

At Learmonth, the ninety Grade II residences were located in streets of terraced buildings on the slopes between Learmonth and Stockbridge, with only the twelve Grade II residences in Dean Park Crescent forming a smaller cluster in the Raeburn development. Moreover, the latter were comparatively small houses, mean value £71, whereas some at Learmonth, notably in Learmonth Gardens, were large terraced houses with an average assessment of £98. The distinctive feature of the occupational data for the Learmonth streets was the number of stockbrokers resident in these dwellings.

* See photograph 21.

At Inverleith, most of the Grade II houses were situated in three streets; Inverleith Row, Inverleith Place and Inverleith Terrace, which collectively accounted for 73 of the 86 houses assessed at between £70 and £114 per annum. Many of these were semi-detached and detached villas and although most of the rental range occurred, the mean values of £82, £89 and £87 respectively, indicates that they were mostly of average size for the grade.

The largest of the minor groupings occurred at Lauriston ridge where there were 30 Grade II dwellings in George Square and a further twenty west of the Royal Infirmary, with Chalmers Street on the south facing slope, forming the principal site. At George Square, the Grade II houses were mostly situated in the western and southern sections. The residents included University Professors, dentists and doctors, who were presumably attracted by the convenient location near the University, Medical School, Dental Hospital and city centre. The houses at George Square were only of average Grade II assessment although the setting remained a pleasant one of terraced dwellings facing a garden area.

Nine Grade II houses were situated in Ramsay Gardens at the head of Castlehill. They were the result of the efforts of the Town and Gown Association, of which Patrick Geddes was a prominent member, who endeavoured to re-introduce a multi-class residential structure in the Old Town.

At Castle Terrace overlooking the King's Stables

area, five Grade II dwellings occurred in a row of terraced houses. There were also a few houses in this grade at Portobello and Duddingston and a number of isolated examples in several locations. For example, there was one Grade II residence in Forth Street which, in 1855, had been an important focus of Grade II houses in the Broughton district. Here, the change was largely due to conversion of properties to clubs, offices and hotels.

In Leith, 96 of the 104 Grade II residences were located on the lands of Trinity between Newhaven Road and Granton Road. Villas were scattered throughout this area in small developments, with the main concentrations occurring at the western periphery in Trinity Road and Stirling Road and along Ferry Road near the municipal boundary. Most of the residents were businessmen and merchants, although they also included professional men such as doctors, and local officials, such as the burgh assessor of Leith. In addition, several tenants and owners were recorded as widows or spinsters.

Of the remaining Grade II residences in Leith, the only other minor focus occurred at Leith Links where six houses were located at Claremont Park, Hermitage Place and John Place.

Thus, in Leith only Trinity had developed as a district of quite large houses. The promise of Hermitage and Claremont, in the 1855 period, had failed to flourish for the vacant land had been devoted to streets of small terraced cottages, leaving only a few clusters of villas and larger terraced houses immediately adjacent to Leith Links.

The distribution of the 4629 Grade III dwellings in Edinburgh is shown on Figure 18. This grade was characterised by a variety of house types, including small villas and cottages, semi-detached dwellings and small terraced houses, in addition to the principal category, flats. Thus, the flats and terraced houses tended to give a highly nucleated pattern whilst some of the cottages and small villas produced a scatter throughout much of the urban area.* Nevertheless, one zone, the southern suburb, included 56.6% of all the Grade III residences and important clusters also occurred in the New Town areas, at Portobello, Learmonth-Comely Bank, Inverleith, Murrayfield and Broughton-Pilrig. In addition, several areas contained small groups of Grade III houses.

Newington and the eastern part of Grange ridge formed the largest concentration of Grade III residences in the southern zone. However, the district consisted of two sections separated by Causewayside. On the eastern side of the old routeway, and especially south of the suburban railway, several streets of semi-detached villas and terraced houses adjoined larger Grade II dwellings. Mayfield Road, Granby Road, Gilmour Road and Queens Crescent were all important sites of Grade III houses. Where the dwellings were villas, the assessments were mostly between £55 and £69 per annum. For example, those in Queens Crescent had a mean assessment of £60. Moreover, many of the Grade II houses in this district were valued at £70, so the general character of the area was that of a good quality suburb with

* For illustration of Grade III residences see Plan 3 and Photographs 7, 14, 15, 16 and 17.

a range of house types and sizes giving rental variation without altering the basic residential status.

To the west of Causewayside a number of Grade III dwellings were located on the north- and south-facing slopes of the ridge. Variation also characterised this section with cottages and small villas at Sciennes, large flatted dwellings at Marchmont and Warrender and terraced houses and villas on the land between Grange Road and the suburban railway. In general, the flatted houses such as those in Findhorn Place (see Photograph 22) had a lower assessment than the villas (see Photograph 14 and Plan 3), although the difference in mean values was only £9 per annum.

Another zone of Grade III houses was located on a wedge of land at Bruntsfield and Merchiston between Gilmore Place, Polwarth Terrace, Colinton Road and Bruntsfield Links. Within this extensive area a number of Grade III foci occurred. Firstly, several streets in the triangular area between Gilmore Place and Bruntsfield included clusters of Grade III dwellings. In some cases, for example at Gilmore Place and Hartington Gardens, these were terraced houses, but there were also large flatted residences, notably at Glengyle Terrace and Bruntsfield Place. Secondly, the area between Colinton Road and Polwarth Terrace was the site of a number of Grade III houses. An outlier of this section lay to the south of Craiglockhart Station at Lockharton, where late in the nineteenth century a few rows of terraced houses had been erected on a pleasant site between the Union Canal and the skating pond at Craiglockhart.

To the east of Colinton Road, some of the streets

included Grade III houses although much of this area was consumed by George Watson's School, and the grounds and houses of Edinburgh Mental Hospital. Finally, to the east of Bruntsfield Place and Morningside Road, a few clusters of Grade III dwellings were situated at Greenhill and Churchhill and a southern enclave occurred at Nile Grove, the site of thirty-seven Grade III houses. With the exception of the houses in Polwarth Terrace, most of the Grade III dwellings in this section of the southern suburban zone were representative of the general rental structure of the grade. The houses in Polwarth Terrace, however, had a mean value of £63 and the lowest Grade III assessment was £55. These were mostly semi-detached villas and adjoined a number of Grade II dwellings. Unfortunately, the occupational information was relatively incomplete in this case but it would appear, on rental evidence, that they were part of a cluster of large villas in the Merchiston district.

The southern suburban Grade III pattern was completed by three clusters on the slopes of Braid and Comiston, at Cluny-Hermitage, between Braid Road and Comiston Road, and to the west of Comiston Road from Morningside Cemetery to the crest of the ridge at Greenbank.

The latter was the most important and included several streets of pleasant terraced houses in a development between Craiglea Drive and Morningside Drive, with an outlier near the crest of the slope at Greenbank. Braid Road included several rows of small terraced dwellings and

development had spread beyond the Braidburn valley to the second ridge adjoining the golf course at Braid Hills. Here, a few streets of red sandstone terraces, with sharply sloping gardens and long flights of steps, formed a cluster of Grade III dwellings.

Only a few streets at Cluny and Hermitage included Grade III dwellings.

Many of the residents in this district were shopkeepers and businessmen although there were also a number of ministers, engineers, accountants and clerks.

By comparison with the southern suburban region, the other clusters in Edinburgh were relatively small. However, several areas had more than one hundred Grade III houses and they represented relics of the earlier pattern and small pockets built in late Victorian and early Edwardian speculations. The largest group was located in the New Town and its extensions, which, in 1914, contained 543 Grade III dwellings.

However, the New Town and Moray Property were minor elements in this distribution with 56 and 40 Grade III houses respectively. In the Moray Property, most of the Grade III dwellings were flatted houses in the link streets such as Great Stuart Street and Darnaway Street. As, in 1855, the residents of these flats included advocates and solicitors which suggested that the houses had an appreciably higher status than their rental assessment might imply. Several streets in the New Town had a number of Grade III flats although the largest clusters, in Queen Street and Castle Street only amounted

to thirteen and fourteen houses respectively. Possibly the most distinctive feature in this case, was the considerable number of residents whose occupation was listed as that of lodging-keeper. It is probable, therefore, that many of the Grade III houses in the New Town were, in fact, lodgings rather than private houses.

The Northern Extension contained 296 Grade III houses, although 36 of these were in a peripheral development near Stockbridge including twenty two houses in Saxe Coburg Place. Several streets in the Northern Extension included quite large numbers of Grade III residences, notably India Street, Great King Street, Dundas Street and Nelson Street. With the exception of Great King Street, these were all north-south streets dominated by four and five storey tenement blocks. There was some evidence in this area of departure from the correlation between residential status judged by occupation and the house assessment based on rental. In Northumberland Street, for example, where many of the Grade III houses were terraced dwellings with a mean value of £62, the residents included two solicitors, an advocate, a doctor and a dentist. Similarly, the residents of Grade III dwellings in Great King Street included three advocates, two solicitors and a stockbroker. These were, however, streets which had been designed to play important residential roles in the extension. By contrast, streets such as Dundas Street and Nelson Street, had been constructed as streets of flatted houses.

Nonetheless, Nelson Street also included advocates and solicitors amongst the residents of Grade III houses. As mentioned earlier, however, it is important to remember that this was the principal site of legal offices, in 1914, and hence, the pleasant houses in the area had obvious residential appeal to members of the profession. It is interesting, however, that more peripheral streets, such as Scotland Street, which were dominated by Grade IV houses but included a few Grade III flats, did not repeat this tendency to any noticeable degree.

Although they formed a comparatively isolated outlier amidst streets of small flatted tenements, the terraced houses at Saxe Coburg Place (see Photograph 16) with a mean value of £55, had remained a reasonably attractive residential location. In 1914, the residents included a Professor of Music, a Major General, an architect, a solicitor, a stationer, a cashier and two ministers.

The Eastern Extension contained only sixty seven Grade III dwellings; more than one third of these were terraced houses in Windsor Street, with the other residences being large flats or terraced houses in adjoining streets.

Although the Western Extension to the New Town was the site of 108 Grade III houses, these were located in minor residential streets. One focus was the flatted dwellings in Shandwick Place, Atholl Place, Coates Place and Maitland Street. With the considerable increase in traffic on this artery between Haymarket and Princes Street, noise and congestion may have detracted from the size and

situation of these houses. However, the occupational evidence was inconclusive and house sale prices were unobtainable.

Westwards of Haymarket, several rows of terraced houses and blocks of tenements flanking the road leading to Roseburn included Grade III dwellings. In addition, the annexed lands of Corstorphine and Murrayfield were the site of a number of small groups of Grade III houses at Saughtonhall Drive, Corstorphine Road and in several streets on Ravelston ridge. In the latter case the houses at Murrayfield Gardens, Ormidale Terrace and Kingsburgh Road were all substantial Grade III residences with mean rentals of £61 or £62 per annum. This contrasted with the twelve Grade III dwellings in the red sandstone terraced speculation at Saughtonhall where the mean value was £42. Moreover, the occupational information revealed differences between these examples. At Murrayfield, the occupations of residents included solicitor, lecturer, physician, stockbroker and merchant, whereas those at Saughtonhall were mostly clerks, travellers and shopkeepers.

Although there were a few Grade III houses in the terraced streets on the crest of the ridge at Learmonth, the principal concentration occurred in the Raeburn scheme, where Ann Street^{*} and St. Bernard Crescent were important foci. To the west of the cluster, a number of streets of small terraced houses lined the road leading to Craigleith from Raeburn Place. Indeed, a small outlier of fourteen Grade III terraced houses was situated at Blinkbonny Crescent

* See Photograph 7

on a bluff overlooking Craigleith Station. Most of the houses in this section between Learmonth, Stockbridge and Craigleith were of average size for the grade, but the twelve terraced houses in Fettes Avenue, fourteen in Learmonth Place and eleven in Dean Park Crescent all had above average mean values of £62, £60 and £59 respectively. In contrast, the highest Grade III assessment for the eleven houses in West Burnton Terrace was £46 and the mean value was £41 per annum.

Inverleith Row, Howard Place, Inverleith Gardens, Warriston Crescent and Eildon Street contained most of the Grade III houses on the lands of Inverleith. Most were terraced houses^{*} although variation in sizes occurred with those in Warriston Crescent, having a mean value of £44, compared with a mean of £59 in Inverleith Row.

A small outlier to the north of Inverleith included the lands at Wardie. Here, thirty seven Grade III residences formed an extension of the pattern in the adjoining Trinity district of Leith.

The Broughton-Leith Walk district also contained a number of discrete clusters of Grade III houses, notably at Bellevue and Pilrig. In the former the principal foci were Bellevue Place and East Claremont Street whilst the thirty five Grade III houses in Pilrig Street were the main component in the Pilrig cluster. The southern part of this district, between East London Street and Picardy Place, had suffered invasion by non-residential land uses and decline of status, and the area only contained a few Grade III dwellings.

* Photograph 15 shows the terraced houses in Howard Place.

Lauriston ridge was the site of 119 Grade III residences. At the eastern end, George Square and Buccleuch Place formed the principal foci but many of the Grade III residences in this district were located in a late nineteenth century development on the lands between Tollcross and the Meadows. Lonsdale Terrace, with forty five Grade III houses (with a mean value of £45) was an important element in this cluster. Nevertheless the flats were obviously attractive residences and had attracted some solicitors and the Chairman of the National Health Board, in addition to shopkeepers, businessmen and "white-collar" workers such as clerks and travellers.

The final important cluster was situated in the Portobello area and contained 428 Grade III houses, just under one tenth of all such residences in the city. However, they were distributed through an extensive area encompassing all the lands from Meadowbank to the coast. There were a number of focal points within this large area. Firstly, in the small settlement of Portobello, several streets between the High Street and the Promenade east of Bath Street, contained clusters of Grade III residences. Secondly, another tract lay between the High Street and the main east coast railway line, east of Portobello Station, with Argyle Crescent as the principal focus. Thirdly, some streets of terraced and semi-detached dwellings had been erected to the south of the settlement around Duddingston Park. Finally, more isolated pockets occurred on the road from Willowbree to Eastfield, the largest being the eleven

dwellings at Duddingston Crescent.

Many of the occupants of these dwellings worked in Edinburgh travelling by the suburban rail connection or the tramway system.

Finally, a few minor nodes of Grade III houses remain to be recorded. There were twenty three dwellings in the small triangle of land between Lothian Road and Castle Terrace where a few streets of flatted houses had been erected at the middle of the nineteenth century. In the Old Town, the main pocket consisted of eight flats in Ramsay Gardens, although a few isolated residences also occurred such as the Rectory in South Gray's Close, off the High Street. Little remained of the 1855 Grade III cluster near the University, apart from one residence in Roxburgh Street and another in Nicolson Square. Similarly, the 1855 grouping in the vicinity of Clerk Street was now represented by eighteen houses, most of these being assessed at between £40 and £42 per annum. To the east of Canongate, Spring Gardens was the site of ten Grade III dwellings, whilst a few streets at Meadowbank also included a handful of Grade III houses.

On the western fringe of the city at Slateford, a few streets of terraced dwellings at Shandon and Ardmillan, and to the east of the railway line at Ashley, included Grade III residences. However, as in most of the minor locations, these were relatively small houses set within predominantly Grade IV developments. Nonetheless, the occupations of the residents were consistent with other Grade III examples, so it would appear that these developments

did not suffer seriously as a result of their size and situation.

The Grade III dwellings in Leith were mostly contained in two areas (Fig. 18); a small cluster of 44 houses around Leith Links and on the slopes of Hermitage Hill and a larger grouping totalling 570 dwellings in North Leith between Leith Town Hall and wardie.

The main elements of the small eastern cluster were the semi-detached villas and terraced houses in Claremont Place and Hermitage Place.

However, it was the developments at North Leith which contained the main nodes of Grade III dwellings. Firstly, there were a number of streets between Newhaven Road and Leith Town Hall at the eastern end of Ferry Road, such as Dudley Crescent, Dudley Terrace and Summerside Place, which were composed of small terraced dwellings with assessments in this value grade. Secondly, an enclave was situated west of Newhaven Road including Derby Road Stanley Road and Park Road. Thirdly, a group of Grade III terraced houses had been constructed between Trinity Road and the railway line to Trinity Station, in streets such as Denham Green Avenue and Clark Road. Finally, the area between wardie and west Trinity included several streets of semi-detached villas, cottages and small rows of terraced houses in the middle value category. With the exception of the area to the east of Newhaven Road where the mean house values were relatively low, the Grade III streets in North Leith tended to have a variety of house sizes within the value range and average mean assessments,

although, there was a slight tendency for the westernmost area which overlapped with the principal higher value villa district to show above average rentals. Moreover, the occupations of residents suggested that many of these were considered attractive dwellings. In the western sections, merchants and persons engaged in maritime occupations were particularly prominent, although there were several professional men and a number of widows. However, with the exception of merchants and doctors, the eastern clusters at Dudley and Sunnyside had fairly similar occupational characteristics.

There were also minor pockets of Grade III residences at Pilrig Street and Leith walk and two isolated examples at Bernard Street and Constitution Street. At Pilrig Street, the nine Grade III terraced houses, mean value £40, faced a similar row on the opposite side of the municipal boundary with Edinburgh. These houses illustrate the change in assessment between 1855 and 1914, for the rentals had fallen by between £10 and £20 during the interval. Nonetheless, the residents included a doctor and a solicitor, so the terraced houses may still have been considered as an attractive residential location.

Thus, the patterns of Leith and Edinburgh both revealed concentration in suburban areas, with subnodes around intensive Victorian terraced developments.

As can be seen from Figure 19, Grade IV residences were located in many parts of the city from Saughtonhall to Portobello, from Wardie to Greenbank. Two basic house types were involved, flats and small terraced residences,

* See House Plan 6 and Photographs 8, 22, 23, 24, 25, 27 and 29

although there were a few cottages and small semi-detached houses in some of the suburban areas. In terms of age, the pattern consisted of elements of the 1855 structure, notably in the New Town and its extensions and the Bristo-St. Leonards and Lothian Road areas but most of the Grade IV houses of 1914 had been built towards the end of the nineteenth century and in the first decade of the twentieth century. Moreover, three main modes of occurrence could be identified. Firstly, relatively isolated examples existed either in sparsely developed suburbs such as Redbraes House near Powderhall, or in areas dominated by houses in other value categories. Multries Hill, for example, only contained a few grade IV flats in a predominantly Grade V district, whereas the New Town and Moray Property also with small numbers of Grade IV houses, were characterised by large residences. In the case of the New Town and, to a lesser extent, the adjacent parts of the extensions, commercial invasion complicated the pattern, for the small upper storey flats were often all that remained of the once residential properties. Secondly, blocks of tenements had been constructed alongside the main traffic arteries, which were now tram routes, and these buildings which included a number of Grade IV dwellings produced linear tendencies in the distribution pattern. Thirdly, large "stands" of Grade IV houses had been created by schemes of tenement flats such as those at Marchmont or areas of small terraced dwellings, e.g., Saughtonhall. These varied in overall size from substantial tracts to small sections involving only a few tenement blocks

or a row of terraces. In addition, house assessment did vary from street to street and area to area and although many streets had no marked intra-grade rental bias, there were a number with relatively low or high average values. Another feature of the pattern was that a number of streets contained more than one hundred Grade IV residences, with the largest being Marchmont Road which was the site of 350 houses in this rental category.

Some 7943 (58.3%) Grade IV houses were located to the south of the Old Town. Within this extensive area, major concentrations occurred at Marchmont, Bruntsfield and Viewforth whilst tentacles spread out from these areas along the main roads to give linear extensions and, in some cases, connected to small outlying clusters as at Ashley and Comiston.

Marchmont with 2093 Grade IV houses was the largest conformation in the city. (For layout of typical house see Plan 6.^{*1}) These streets of flatted properties between the Meadows and the crest of Grange ridge, had been designed under feuing guidance from the superior, as a 'good quality' tenement district. Most of the residents were "white-collar" workers, although there were also a number of shopkeepers and skilled workers.

To the south, a small tenement node had developed near Blackford Station,^{*2} but the principal extension of the Marchmont development lay to the west across Bruntsfield Links. On either side of Bruntsfield Place, the main thoroughfare leading to Morningside, several streets of

*1 See also Photograph 23

*2 See Photograph 39.

substantial flatted dwellings had been erected resembling those at Marchmont. Whilst the southward spread was limited by the streets of villas at Greenhill, the area had expanded to the north west down the slope towards Gilmore Place. Another nucleus existed at Polwarth with Polwarth Gardens as the principal component.

Morningside Road, with 187 Grade IV flats formed a southern linear extension from Bruntsfield and a few streets of attractive flatted residences had been developed on the adjacent south facing slopes of Grange ridge, notably on the site of the old mansion of Falcon Hall and at Woodburn Terrace,^{*1} to the south of Jordan Lane. On the western side of Morningside Road, the tenement development had favoured smaller flats, mostly with rentals of less than £20. Finally, this southward prong was completed by the tenement blocks flanking Comiston Road and several rows of small terraced houses^{*2} and blocks of flats particularly between Comiston Drive and Morningside Drive and in a small tract west of Morningside Cemetery. Most of the streets to the west of Comiston Road were dominated by Grade III terraced dwellings but a few of these had assessments between £30 and £39 and hence were in Grade IV whilst some small blocks of tenement flats had occupied isolated sites to give small clusters of Grade IV houses. There was a tendency for the flats to have below average values whilst the terraced houses were almost all assessed at more than £28 per annum.

*1 See Photographs 25 and 26

*2 See Photograph 30.

In the villa district between Colinton Road and Polwarth Terrace, the only cluster of Grade IV houses was located at Merchiston Crescent and Mardale Crescent, two adjoining streets of sandstone flatted properties. To the west, a cluster of Grade IV houses was located in the streets of tenements and terraced dwellings between Polwarth Terrace and Slateford Road. The tenement blocks in Ashley Terrace, Bonaly Road and Cowan Road accounted for 182 of the 431 Grade IV houses in this area but some of the terraced streets in the co-operative housing estate * to the west of Ashley Terrace also contained a number of Grade IV houses, mostly with assessment between £21 and £26. On the northern side of the railway, from Princes Street to Glasgow, some streets of small terraced houses formed a cluster at Shandon whilst a few Grade IV dwellings were located in another 'colony' at Slateford Road.

At the eastern end of Grange ridge, the lands at Newington and Sciennes were the site of just over one thousand Grade IV houses. Many of these were situated in linear tenement developments, notably at Dalkeith Road, or in small blocks, of tenement streets as at MacDowall Road and West Saville Terrace near the suburban railway line and at Melville Terrace, Gladstone Terrace and Sciennes Road between the Meadows and Causewayside. However, there were some small terraced and semi-detached houses with assessments between £21 and £39 in predominantly higher valued villa areas, for example, at South Lauder Road. Also a few small houses occurred in streets such as Minto Street but more important clusters existed in a few

* See Photograph 31.

rows of small terraced houses, particularly to the east of Dalkeith Road, where Kirkhall Road formed one example. In addition, several blocks of tenements with houses assessed at between £21 and £39 had been erected on vacant sites on the south facing slope of Grange ridge in the later years of the nineteenth century, notably at Findhorn Place and Fountainhall Road.

A linear development stretched north from Newington, towards the Old Town, flanking South Clerk Street and Clerk Street and extending into several adjoining streets. Much of this area had been developed by 1855 when it was the site of Grade III and IV flatted dwellings. By 1914, the district contained just over 400 Grade IV houses, although only eighteen were assessed at more than £39 per annum. A number of complex changes had affected this district and similar peripheral 1855 areas. Firstly, the construction of many larger houses had effectively reduced the rental ranking of these houses. This is largely reflected in the 1914 assessments which were very similar to those of 1855 despite a general upward value movement for the overall rental structure of the city. As a result some Grade III clusters of 1855 were Grade IV groups in 1914. However, the pattern was a little more subtle, for some houses valued at between £10 and £20, in 1855, were in the £21 to £39 range by 1914, whilst others remained at the 1855 rental values. Moreover, the principal effect was to reduce the rank of this district, in terms of house assessment with some streets, such as St. Patrick Square now being almost entirely composed of Grade V residences.

* See Photograph 22.

In general the Grade IV houses in this area were similar in rental range to most of Grade IV tenement districts but the occupational information did reveal a greater proportion of tradesmen among the residents than occurred at Marchmont or Morningside. The line of Crosscauseway marked the northern boundary of this cluster and only a few streets in the lands of Bristo and Pleasance contained Grade IV residences, although in 1855, this had been the largest Grade IV district. Indeed, the largest cluster, in 1914, in this area involved ten flats in Lothian Street.

Lauriston ridge was the site of 351 Grade IV houses which were situated in three small clusters at Buccleuch Place, Forrest Road and to the west of George Heriots' School. Buccleuch Place had also changed from a Grade III location in 1855 to a Grade IV site in 1914. Moreover, the employment information suggests a decline of status, for most of the residents in 1914 were clerks, shopkeepers and tradesmen whereas, in 1855, businessmen and a few professional men had lived in the flatted houses. Although Keir Street, Graham Street, Archibald Place, Lauriston Gardens and Lauriston Park contained a total of 164 Grade IV houses, the principal cluster was located on the south-western flanks of the ridge between Tollcross and the Meadows. Here several streets of tenement houses were the site of more than two hundred Grade IV dwellings. Linearity also characterised this pattern with Brougham Street and Brougham Place lining the route to the Meadows and Home Street marking the road to Bruntsfield.

The Lothian Road-Fountainbridge district was, in 1914, a minor element in the Grade IV residential pattern

with the main focus occurring on the triangular site between Lothian Road and Castle Terrace. By contrast, Gardners Crescent and Grove Street, which were sites of Grade III and IV houses in 1855, were now dominated by Grade V dwellings, resulting from sub-division of property and intervening status decline.

In 1914, the Old Town contained forty two Grade IV houses with the largest cluster being nine flatbed dwellings at George IV Bridge.

Although the New Town and Moray Property were minor sites of Grade IV residences, with 56 and 15 dwellings respectively in this rental grade in 1914, the Northern Extension contained 912 Grade IV houses. Many of these were situated in streets on the northern periphery of the district from Bellevue Crescent in the east to west Claremont Street on the west, including a small northern extension beyond the area of industrial premises and railway property * to include Brandon Street, Brandon Terrace, Eyre Place and Eyre Crescent. Moreover, another cluster was situated on the southern eastern fringe at York Place, Duke Street and Dublin Street. Great King Street, with 28 Grade IV residences, was the only major street in the design with more than ten Grade IV houses. The other aspect of the spatial pattern was the important position of the north-south roads as Grade IV sites, particularly the main traffic arteries of Dundas Street-Pitt Street and Howe Street.

It would appear that Grade IV dwellings in the Northern Extension were evaluated similarly to others elsewhere in the city in terms of their social desirability, for the occupations of the residents resemble those in several suburban districts. However, in a few streets,

* See Photograph 35.

notably Nelson Street, London Street and Bellevue Crescent, the residents of the Grade IV houses did include a few professional men which might infer that residences in these streets, at least, had a higher prestige than their rental assessment would indicate. Equally, some streets such as Brandon Terrace had relatively low Grade IV rentals and the Valuation Roll revealed a slightly different occupational structure of the residents with a greater proportion being non-"white collar" workers. Moreover, even though the nearby houses in Eyre Crescent had a higher average rental, the same occupational bias occurred. Indeed, most streets in the northern fringe of the district which adjoined industrial districts and areas of working class tenements tended to have this favouring of occupations such as shop-keeper or specific crafts such as butcher, joiner, gunsmith, etc. Many of these tradesmen were probably self-employed although this information was not recorded in the Valuation Roll.

Most of the 188 Grade IV houses in the Western Extension were located in two conformations. Firstly, in tenement blocks flanking the road from Princes Street to Haymarket and in Torphichen Street. Secondly, a larger cluster was located alongside the road from Haymarket to Roseburn. Within the main planned section of the extension a few Grade IV houses occurred in the upper storey and attic floors.

A cluster of Grade IV houses also occurred at Roseburn in streets of tenement dwellings. However, these were comparatively small residences with rents of between £21 and £25 per annum and they were mostly occupied by tradesmen.

Most of the 167 Grade IV houses in the annexed district at Murrayfield and Corstorphine occurred in two situations. Firstly, there were two streets of tenement houses near the water of Leith at Coltbridge. Secondly, small terraced houses had recently been erected at Saughtonhall. The latter had apparently become a particular attractive location for 'white-collar' workers possibly because of the fact that this area combined a pleasant suburban location with good access to the city centre from Pinkhill Station.

Three quarters of the 476 Grade IV residences in the Learmonth-Comely Bank district were located in tenement buildings in the late nineteenth century development at Comely Bank. A second cluster occurred in the Raeburn scheme where some of the flats were in this rental category. Finally, Raeburn Place formed a linear conformation of Grade IV houses.

At Inverleith most of the 220 Grade IV houses were situated in a group of tenement streets near the junction of Inverleith Row and Ferry Road. To the east, another isolated group of tenement houses at Chancelot were part of the Grade IV residences in the Bonnington-Pilrig district. A larger grouping occurred at Bellevue where Bellevue Road and East Claremont Street respectively contained 147 and 125 Grade IV houses.

Leith Walk was another example of a linear pattern of Grade IV residences and several adjoining streets, notably McDonald Road and Annandale Street were sites of groups of Grade IV flatted dwellings. In

the area between Leith Walk and Easter Road several streets contained a number of Grade IV houses. Montgomery Street, for example, had 175 dwellings assessed at between £21 and £39 per annum.

The expansion of the brewery complex at Holyrood to Abbeyhill and Moray Park and the development of the St. Margaret's locomotive yards at Meadowbank had encouraged a phase of tenement building in the second half of the nineteenth century in that vicinity and at Abbeyhill. Although these streets were dominated by small Grade V flats, there were a few larger houses with rentals between £21 and £39. However, a cluster of Grade IV houses was located to the east of this area at Willowbrae. Here a number of streets of small terraced dwellings had been erected on either side of the boundary between Edinburgh and Midlothian. With the subsequent incorporation in 1901 of the suburban part of the county, all of the dwellings were now within Edinburgh, although there were still in a pleasant peripheral location near the Royal Park and Duddingston. An additional attraction to development may have been the convenience of the tramway route at Portobello Road. Indeed, Piershill was a terminal point for some services. An extension of this district involved a few rows of terraced houses along the main road to Portobello.

The settlement of Portobello, which was still largely an independent urban unit, was the site of 832 Grade IV residences. These occurred in two main locations. Firstly, between the coast and the main railway line,

particularly eastwards of Bath Street, several streets included a number of Grade IV dwellings. Secondly, a group of terraced and semi-detached houses in streets west of Duddingston Park were in this rental category. In addition, isolated pockets occurred at Eastfield and on Milton Road.

Finally, a number of small groups and isolated Grade IV residences were located in peripheral areas of the city. There were, for example, sixteen Grade IV houses at wardie and Granton, thirty five in a few tenement blocks and small terraced rows at Slateford, eight in the cottages on the western part of Gorgie Road and a similar number at Duddingston village.

The 1,599 Grade IV houses in Leith accounted for 8.8% of all residences in the settlement.

As can be seen from Figure 19, the spatial pattern primarily consisted of several major clusters of flats and terraced houses although there were also a few minor groups such as those in old Leith. One major concentration was situated to the east of the Old Town on the slopes of Hermitage Hill, where several streets of small terraced houses had been erected on the upper slopes in the later years of the nineteenth century. Many of these streets had relatively low Grade IV mean values. For example, the 57 Grade IV houses in Cornhill Terrace had an average assessment of £23 per annum. However, to the east of Restalrig Road there were a few larger Grade IV houses.

A second cluster was located in the tenement streets between Leith Walk and Easter Road, whilst a minor

node occurred at Pilrig in Cambridge Gardens and Cambridge Avenue.

In North Leith, the lands between the docks and Trinity included several discrete clusters of Grade IV houses. The principal focus was located between Newhaven Road and North Junction Street, especially in Dudley Avenue, Dudley Gardens and Summerside Place. Many of these were terraced houses and thirty six of the thirty eight Grade IV houses in Dudley Gardens were assessed at £38 per annum. Moreover, the residents at Dudley Gardens differed from adjacent Grade IV examples in that they included a solicitor, minister, schoolmaster, and two secretaries, in addition to a number of widows, spinsters, shipmasters and shopkeepers. Thus, this particular street resembled nearby Grade III locations in terms of the occupations of residents.

North of the Trinity-Leith railway line, a small cluster of Grade IV dwellings occurred on the bluff above Newhaven at Park Road and Stanley Road. Another cluster was located to the west of Craighall Road with East Trinity Road forming the principal location. Finally some tenement blocks at Darnell Road, Trinity Road and Cargil Terrace near Trinity Station included 151 Grade IV flatted dwellings.

Some of the Grade IV houses in Leith may have attracted people who worked in Edinburgh for the principal locations were all linked to Edinburgh by the tramway system but, unfortunately, the Valuation Roll furnished no additional information which would establish such a

connection. However, the number of clerks, managers and travellers in these areas does suggest that Edinburgh may have been their place of employment rather than Leith, since the city was the major office and administrative centre in the region and, in fact, for much of Scotland.

Leith had failed to develop large tracts of good quality tenement buildings similar to those at Marchmont, Bruntsfield and Comely Bank in Edinburgh. Indeed, the only comparable examples were in a few streets between Leith Walk and Easter Road and the blocks in Trinity Road and Darnell Road. As a result, small terraced dwellings played a more important role in the Grade IV structure of Leith than occurred in Edinburgh.

The 51,711 Grade V houses in 1914 represented 70.4% of all residences in Edinburgh and Figure 20 shows the distribution of these dwellings. In general, the larger tracts of Grade V tenement flats were situated in the principal industrial districts (see Fig. 22). Most of the 1855 Grade V residential districts still played a prominent part in the 1914 pattern. Thus, the Old Town, Bristo-St. Leonards, Fountainbridge and Multries Hill-Greenside were all large Grade V districts. The Fountainbridge cluster had expanded westward and one section followed the Union Canal towards Slateford whilst a second zone of tenement houses stretched from Haymarket to Gorgie.

On the eastern flank of the Old Town, the tentative developments at Abbeyhill had mushroomed in the

second half of the nineteenth century with tenement streets to the north and south of the main east coast railway line and blocks of tenements at Meadowbank and Marionville. This area was connected to the large Grade V tenement district between Leith Walk and Easter Road by the flatted terraced dwellings of the Co-operative housing development to the north of Cadzow Place.

Residential development in the later years of the nineteenth century at Broughton Road and Powderhall, near Canonmills and the water of Leith, had included more than one thousand Grade V flats. In effect this was the easternmost part of a zone which followed the water of Leith through Stockbridge to Dean Village and Roseburn.

Portobello was the site of an independent area of Grade V residences near the glassworks and also in the High Street and at Joppa Road. Finally, several old routeways such as Causewayside were locally important sites of Grade V houses.

The Bristo-St. Leonards district was the largest intensive Grade V area containing 16.1% of all houses in the grade. With the exception of a small section in the vicinity of Clerk Street, all the streets were dominated by Grade V residences. In several sections, below mean values were characteristic as at Dumbiedykes, Plesance, Potterrow and Bristo. These particular areas were mainly composed of old sub-standard tenement properties,

several of which were recorded in the Valuation Roll as being condemned, although still inhabited and assessed. In some cases, at least, the lowly assessed streets had a different occupational structure from those with rather higher Grade V mean values. For example, all of the 73 dwellings in Holyrood Square at Dumbiedykes were assessed at less than £10 per annum. Here, the majority of the residents were listed as labourers, lorrymen and brewery or railway servants, only twelve being recorded as tradesmen. In contrast, most of the 164 Grade V houses in Montague Street were assessed at between £15 and £20 per annum. In this case, less than ten of the residents were labourers, lorrymen or railway servants whilst the majority were tradesmen and a few were listed as clerks. Moreover, the manual workers mostly occupied basement flats with values between £5 and £10 per annum. However, location also contributed to this apparent contrast for Holyrood Square was situated amidst several streets completely dominated by Grade V houses, whereas Montague Street included 21 Grade IV residences and formed part of the Clerk Street district. Nevertheless, other streets in predominantly Grade V locations also revealed a tendency for manual occupations to be listed against tenants of houses valued at less than £10, whilst the higher values were normally associated with tradesmen and minor "white-collar" employees such as policemen, school board officers and salesmen.

Many of the worst houses in the Old Town had been demolished in the Improvement Scheme of 1867 with streets of new tenement blocks being erected, e.g. Jeffrey Street. Nonetheless, the district still accounted for almost one tenth of all the Grade V residences in the city.

Moreover, many of the houses in the main localities, High Street, Lawnmarket, Canongate, Cowgate, Grassmarket and West Port, were assessed at less than £10 per annum. Even in the small flatted local authority housing developments at Tron Square, High School Yards and Portsburgh Square the average value was only £8 per annum. The residents of these local authority houses were mostly manual workers. In contrast, the tenements in the streets created in the Improvement Scheme were mostly assessed at between £13 and £20 per annum and occupied by tradesmen.

An extensive tract of land between the western fringe of the Old Town and the edge of the urban area at Gorgie and Slateford, was the site of more than eleven thousand Grade V residences, almost one quarter of all the houses in the lowest rental grade. Moreover, although the area was comprised of several concentrations, most of these were separated by industrial premises, railway property or other non-residential land uses. Immediately adjacent to the West Port, several streets of small tenement flats occupied a triangular area of land between Lauriston, Tollcross and Lothian Road. Moreover, this cluster extended westwards from Tollcross to Fountainbridge which, even in 1855, had been emerging as an industrial district. The land between Fountainbridge and the canal was now devoted to several large industrial premises, notably the North

British Rubber works and some streets of Grade V tenements, whilst, to the north, the area between Fountainbridge and Morrison Street was the site of streets of Grade V tenement dwellings. These were bounded on the west by the coal depot and railway lines of the London, Midland and Scottish Railway Company and the massive buildings and yards of W. McEwan's Brewery. Another intensive area of Grade V tenements was located to the west of the rubberworks between the Union Canal and Dundee Street. Eight streets in this area contained more than one hundred Grade V houses and, the largest cluster, was at Watson Crescent which included 431 Grade V dwellings. Despite the recent date of construction these were all small flats assessed at between £7 and £13 per annum.

An even larger zone of Grade V houses was situated on the lands of Dalry and Gorgie. The pattern was also broken by railway lines and industrial premises and the period of development varied from 1870 to 1914. Some variation in rental pattern also occurred with the flatted terraced dwellings between Dalry Road and the coal depot and Morrison Street being assessed at between £16 and £20, the older tenements in the Caledonian Crescent development at between £10 and £18 and the newer tenements at Gorgie^{*} at between £8 and £13 per annum. Moreover, the occupational information revealed a greater proportion of "white-collar" workers in the higher valued examples, notably in the 'colony' near Haymarket.

An extension of this district followed the line of Slateford Road with tenement nodes at Hermand and Moat and

* See Photograph 33.

a small flatted terraced scheme to the south of the main road.

Another substantial zone of Grade V residences was situated to the north and east of the Old Town, where the presence of Calton Hill and the Royal Park complicated the pattern. At Abbeyhill, industrial and residential development jostled for space on a restricted site. Moreover, the main east coast railway line cut through this area, whilst the St. Margaret's Locomotive works were located at Meadowbank. A ribbon of tenements flanked the Royal Park on the road from Abbey Strand to Meadowbank, whilst more intensive developments were located at Comely Green and on a triangular site at Marionville opposite the brewery extension at Moray Park.

To the west of Calton Hill, the ^{*}Multries Hill-Greenside area was still an important site of Grade V dwellings. Many of those at Greenside were particularly small houses in a serious state of disrepair and several were listed as uninhabitable in the Valuation Roll.

To the north of Calton Hill, the sloping ground which Playfair had intended to grace with elegant streets and terraces was now covered by blocks of tenement dwellings. Whilst the southern portion consisted of quite large flats with rentals of more than £20, most of the development to the north of Montgomery Street involved houses in the Grade V rental category.

In total, the area between Leith Walk and Meadowbank, including Abbeyhill, was the site of almost seven thousand Grade V houses, whilst a further thirteen hundred were located at Greenside-Multries Hill. One

* See House Plan 5.

interesting occupational feature was the large number of railway, tramway and brewery employees resident in these areas. St. Margaret's, at Meadowbank was one of the two main railway yards in Edinburgh, whilst numerous breweries were located near these areas, and there was a large tram depot at Shrubhill in Leith Walk.

On the eastern periphery of this district, a few of the small terraced houses in the vicinity of Willowbrae had assessments in the upper values of Grade V. However, the main clusters in this section were blocks of tenements flanking the main thoroughfare, the road to Portobello, or isolated developments such as the blocks at Restalrig Road.

The Grade V dwellings on the lands of Broughton and Pilrig to some extent formed a westward extension of the larger Leith Walk-Meadowbank zone. However, in this case the pattern was more complex. In essence, there were three clusters within this district. Firstly, a number of flats in the intensively developed southern portion of the area were assessed at less than £21 per annum, although most streets also contained larger residences. Within this area, the main concentration of Grade V houses occurred in Broughton Street and old Broughton village. Secondly, Broughton Road was dominated by Grade V tenement houses. Thirdly, a number of streets to the west of Leith Walk contained some Grade V houses. The separation of these elements was accentuated by the area of allotments south of McDonald Road, the cemetery and engineering works at Rosebank, a large school at Bellevue and the tram depot at Shrubhill.

Between Canonmills and Stockbridge a number of Grade V residences were located in streets of tenement blocks on the fringe of the Northern Extension of the New Town. In addition, the first 'colony' * to be built lay to the north of Glenogle Road. Apart from the 376 Grade V houses in the 'colony', the principal concentration was located in the western part of the district between the river and the line of India Place and St. Stephen Street. These streets varied in average assessments with some such as St. Stephen Street containing much of the rental range whereas others consisted of houses valued at less than £12.

On the opposite bank of the water of Leith, another concentration of Grade V residences extended westwards from the old bleaching village to Comely Bank and involved two main components: firstly, several streets around the better quality Raeburn Scheme were dominated by small Grade V tenement flats; secondly, the newer tenement area at Comely Bank included a number of streets with more than one hundred residences valued at between £13 and £20. In general, the employment data for the residents of the Comely Bank houses suggested that they were certainly considered more desirable than many Grade V residences in Edinburgh. There were no manual workers listed and the residents included clerks and, interestingly, butlers. The latter were presumably attracted by both the proximity of the fashionable districts and the size and quality of the Comely Bank flats. By contrast, the houses in Bedford Street and in the local authority

* See Photographs 19 and 20.

development at Bedford Crescent had relatively low Grade V rentals and were mostly inhabited by manual workers.

The Northern Extension to the New Town in 1914 included just over eleven hundred Grade V houses. However, more than half of these were situated in Cumberland Street and Jamaica Street.* The only other predominantly Grade V example was the single tenement block in Northumberland Place. Finally, the pattern was completed by the north-south tenement streets which included some smaller flats which fell within the Grade V category.

The New Town pattern was very similar, for Rose Street and Thistle Street accounted for more than three quarters of the five hundred Grade V houses in the district. Moreover, most of the Grade V flats in other streets were either basement or attic dwellings, often occupied by caretakers. The Western Extension also revealed this pattern. In this case, William Street was the main focus of the Grade V houses. Although these were all fashionable districts, the minor streets had not experienced any status enhancement judging by the occupational data, for their residents continued to be servants and tradesmen as the design had originally intended.

Small groups of Grade V houses occurred at Haymarket and Roseburn and a few flats in Coltbridge Avenue and Murrayfield Place also had assessments of less than £21 per annum. At Saughtonhall, a small row of red sandstone flatted terraced houses in Glendevon Place (See Photograph 29) straddled the Grade IV-Grade V rental range.

* See House Plan 4.

However, these houses had a minimum rental of £19 and the residents included shopkeepers and clerks, so that it would appear that their status evaluation exceeded the house rental ranking. They were, however, small dwellings, although the location in a virtually open green field site was undoubtedly attractive. As, in 1855, these houses provide an example of small comparatively low valued peripheral houses which had attracted middle class residents.

Most of the Grade V houses on Lauriston ridge formed extensions of the neighbouring Bristo and Fountain-bridge districts. Thus, at the eastern end of the ridge, the streets surrounding George Square were now mainly devoted to Grade V houses which were mostly of similar size to those in the adjoining parts of Bristo. Even Buccleuch Place, which initially had been a good quality tenement street to the south of George Square, now contained 88 Grade V flats and only 71 Grade IV houses.

At the western end of the ridge, the tenement houses in Lauriston Street, Lady Lawson Street, Glen Street and in the westernmost part of Lauriston Place were predominantly within the Grade V rental category. Moreover, the area to the south of Tollcross included several streets of Grade V flatted dwellings. However, many of these houses had comparatively high Grade V assessments and their residents were mostly tradesmen. Significantly, these streets adjoined an area of Grade IV flatted houses at the western edge of the Meadows.

The principal Grade IV district at Marchmont, Bruntsfield and Polwarth was a relatively minor location of Grade V dwellings.

Only 243 dwellings in the lowest grade were situated at Marchmont and most of these occurred in Roseneath Street, Roseneath Place and Marchmont Crescent. Although the area between Bruntsfield and the Union Canal was the site of over 800 Grade V houses the main cluster was situated between Gilmore Place and the Union Canal. In addition, several streets between Bruntsfield Place and Gilmore Place, such as Viewforth, included a number of Grade V and Grade IV residences. In general, the Grade V houses had assessments between £14 and £20 and the occupations of the residents were similar to the adjoining higher valued flats.

At Polwarth, Temple Park Crescent was the site of 206 Grade V houses and the tenements in the nearby Mertoun Place and Polwarth Crescent were also mainly composed of flats in the Grade V rental category. Nonetheless, the three streets contained 13, 31 and 35 Grade IV houses respectively. In fact, these streets like several others in the post 1870 suburban tenement developments, ranged in value, in 1914, from £15 to £25 per annum. Clearly in these instances, the Grade boundary was splitting what was, in reality, one grouping. Moreover, the occupational data suggested that these were not working-class districts.

Part of the Grade V cluster at Ashley was located in tenement streets similar in rental character to those at Polwarth and Viewforth. There were also a number of Grade V residences in the 'colony' to the west of

Ashley Terrace. However, the occupational information suggested that the small terraced flatted houses were also considered quite attractive dwellings, the 64 residents of Hazelbank Terrace, for example, included 13 clerks, in addition to others employed in "white-collar" occupations. Possibly that fact that these were all quite large Grade V houses, average assessment £18, and the suburban setting with a large allotment area and playing fields to the west, made this a comparatively attractive district.

At Morningside, the line of the main thoroughfare of Morningside Road and Comiston Road, created a linear element in the Grade V pattern whilst several adjacent streets, particularly on the western flank were the sites of Grade V tenement properties. One cluster was situated on a small piece of land at Springvalley, whilst the area adjoining the coal depot and suburban railway line at Morningside Station had also attracted a development of rather small tenement flats. At Bruce Street, for example, a small offshoot from Balcarres Street and located between the railway and Morningside Cemetery most of the flats were assessed at £9 or £10 per annum and the residents included occupations such as, carter, porter, lamplighter, railway servant, roadman, charwoman, attendant as well as a few tradesmen. This contrasted with the tenement streets at Springvalley where the average assessment was £16 and most of the residents were either clerks or other supervisory staff, tradesmen or shopkeepers.

Almost one third of the Grade V residences in

the Newington district were located at Causewayside whilst the area between this street and Gladstone Terrace^{*} at Sciennes formed an extension of the linear pattern. On the eastern periphery, some of the tenement blocks at Dalkeith Road also included Grade V flats, particularly on the western side of the thoroughfare.

Finally, there were small clusters of Grade V dwellings at Dean Village and at Inverleith.

Although Portobello was a part of Edinburgh by 1914, the settlement was still surrounded by green fields and it formed a separate urban unit, albeit associated with Edinburgh in terms of commerce, administration and for work and services. As can be seen from Figure 20, the Grade V cluster at Portobello is quite separate from any other district in Edinburgh. The pattern consisted of three main components; firstly, streets of tenements and cottages at the western part of Portobello near the industrial nucleus at Figgate Burn; secondly, the linear pattern produced by the High Street; thirdly, a few Grade V houses were located between Bath Street and Joppa in streets dominated by higher value houses. There were also small clusters at Eastfield and in the extensive lands between Portobello and Meadowbank.

The spatial pattern of Grade V houses in Leith, Figure 20, consisted of seven major groups. Firstly, the old core of Leith between the harbour, Great Junction Street and Constitution Street was the site of one tenth of all the Grade V houses in the settlement. Secondly, another

* See Photograph 32.

cluster was situated to the east of the old core between Constitution Street and Leith Links and in the industrial district around Salamander Street and the eastern docks. Thirdly, the two 'colonies' at Hermitage Hill and several tenement blocks in neighbouring streets such as Lochend Road and Restalrig Road, collectively contained just over one thousand Grade V houses. Fourthly, more than one fifth of the grade V houses in Leith were situated in an extensive tenement district between Leith Walk and Easter Road which was a part of a similar area to the south within Edinburgh. Moreover, this district extended westwards from Leith Walk along Balfour Street and Springfield Street. Fifthly, on the north side of the river, the area between the docks, the river and Fort Street was a further district of Grade V tenement houses. Sixthly, a series of small clusters occupied the narrow coastal strip between Leith and Granton. Finally, another tenement district had developed between the water of Leith and Bonnington Road.

Although many of the worst tenements had been demolished in an improvement scheme in the 1870's, the old core of Leith still contained a number of tenements in the closes and wynds between the harbour and Kirkgate. Almost all of these houses were assessed at less than £10 per annum and were the place of residence of manual workers and people employed in unskilled occupations. Moreover, many of the houses in the area to the east of the old core were also relatively small and apparently

of fairly humble status. Even in streets, such as Cadiz Street, where the average value was £12, the residents were mostly labourers, seamen and firemen and none of the inhabitants could be classed as tradesmen. Similarly, most of the houses in the 'colonies' at Hermitage had fairly low assessments and were mainly the homes of unskilled workers. A few houses in the terraced streets between the two Grade V foci also included dwellings in the lowest rental category. However, these were assessed at between £17 and £20 per annum and the occupational information revealed that the residents were tradesmen, clerks and bookkeepers. Thus, they differed from the nearby lower valued Grade V residences.

The tract of tenement properties between Leith Walk and Easter Road resembled similar developments in Edinburgh at Gorgie, Fountainbridge, Abbeyhill, in addition to the continuation of this district southwards to Montgomery Street. These were streets of four and five storey tenements, commonly with either three or four flats per floor. In most cases, the flats were of identical size, though one design variant did incorporate an additional flat on the ground floor, thereby reducing the size of all the ground floor dwellings. Some variation of rental pattern occurred within the area and, in general, the streets of slightly larger flats were the domain of tradesmen whilst the streets with assessments below £11 were predominantly inhabited by unskilled workers. The principal section of larger flats was situated between Lorne Street and Dalmeny Street.

In North Leith most of the small flats were situated either in the several streets of old tenements

between the docks, the river and Fort Street or to the south of Ferry Road in streets such as Trafalgar Lane and West Bowling Green Street.

As in Edinburgh many of the Grade V tenement areas were also important industrial districts. Thus, in Leith, the docks and their associated warehouses and factories, the industrial premises at Leith Walk and Easter Road and the zone of industry alongside the water of Leith, were all adjoined by working class tenement clusters. Moreover, the western coastal fringe also exemplified this pattern with the cottages and flats at Newhaven and Granton being related to the maritime role of the area. Much of the Grade V tenement development in both settlements, therefore, represented the provision of working class housing near industrial centres. However, the districts also contained some larger flats which were mostly occupied by tradesmen and clerical workers who probably were employed in a number of different districts throughout the urban area. In addition, some flats in predominantly higher valued developments also fell within the Grade V range although the employment information in the Valuation Roll suggested that these formed a different category from the streets dominated by unskilled workers. In general, streets with Grade V rentals between £15 and £20, especially if some higher valued flats were also present, constituted a category resembling areas with assessments at the lower end of the Grade IV rental range.

CHAPTER 3.

PART 4.

The Status Areas of Edinburgh and Leith in 1914.

Figure 21, the Status Areas of Edinburgh and Leith in 1914, was compiled in a similar manner to that of Figure 12. In this case, two areas were not classified: firstly, the New Town and a small part of the adjacent Western Extension; secondly, the village of Duddingston. The latter had been incorporated towards the end of the nineteenth century but still constituted a separate settlement with small blocks of flatted dwellings, tiny cottages and a few villas all contained within a few streets, with no clear residential status. In the New Town and adjoining districts invasion by non-residential land uses made status classification almost impossible.

In 1914, the principal Grade I locations were the Moray development, Learmonth and the extended Western Extension, Belmont, Merchiston, Grange and Braid, with minor areas at Inverleith and at Gordon Terrace to the south of Newington. As, in 1855, the suburban districts were less intensive than the central terraced examples. The large Grade I area between Morningside and Blackford, for example, only contained a handful of substantial mansions set in spacious grounds. Nevertheless, all the principal locations were comparatively homogeneous districts. By contrast, the Northern Extension was still an intricate mosaic of different assessment grades with Heriot Row, Abercromby Place and Royal Circus forming the main Grade I

foci. However, the occupational evidence suggested that many Grade II dwellings in this district and also in the terraces on Calton Hill were fashionable dwellings with good residential status. Both of these extensions, therefore, were probably only just below the status of the Moray development at the Western Extension.

Most Grade I districts were adjoined by areas of Grade II and/or Grade III houses. At Newington and Comiston-Braid however, large Grade II and III areas had developed with the Grade I houses on the southern peripheries being later erections. Nonetheless, the construction of mansions at Gordon Terrace or on the ridge above Hermitage of Braid (see photographs 40 and 41) suggested that these were attractive locations with considerable residential prestige. In a constantly changing status pattern, such developments may indicate the upgrading of districts. In this period for example, the Georgian and Victorian terraced mansions in the New Town districts were increasingly being converted into offices, clubs and hotels, producing an inevitable need for new sites for large mansions. In such a situation, sites near existing attractive suburbs probably had more appeal than more speculative ventures in entirely undeveloped areas.

The Grade IV tenement flats in areas such as Marchmont and Comely Bank had added an important new element in the status pattern of 1914, as did the small suburban terraced houses such as those at Craighouse Avenue.* These areas had become the principal 'white-collar'

* See photograph 30.

middle-class districts between 1880 and 1914.

The substantial low status zone incorporating the Old Town, Bristo-St. Leonards and Fountainbridge now extended west to include Dalry-Gorgie, east to Meadowbank and north from Greenside to Leith. In general, there was a close correlation between the large Grade V districts and the main industrial sites (see Figure 22). Although there had been some improvement in working class housing conditions, these areas consisted of two or three room dwellings, even the newer areas being of very rudimentary amenity and space allowance.

Another Grade V district now encompassed most of the lands beside the Water of Leith from Dean village to Powderhall, including the colony at Stockbridge. As a result, this zone almost linked with a similar district in Leith between Bonnington and the harbour area. Interestingly, the principal railway areas, particularly in the environs of the main lines and sidings at Dalry and Meadowbank had also become major low status districts.

On Lauriston ridge many of the higher value houses were now small enclaves in a predominantly low status district, particularly on the western and eastern flanks of the ridge. In addition, a large tract was consumed by institutions including schools and hospitals.

The urban patterns of Leith and Edinburgh now merged at Leith Walk-Easter Road and, to a lesser extent, at Trinity-Inverleith. However, the seaport had maintained much of the independence of its urban structure, albeit changed by new developments in the years between 1855 and 1914.

The extensive zone of Grade V residences in Old Leith had been extended south towards Edinburgh and west towards Newhaven and Bonnington. At Hermitage, the slopes were covered by terraced houses and linear tenement developments in Lochend Road and Restalrig Road, so that this district was now principally a Grade IV and V area, apart from the terraced dwellings and villas adjoining Leith Links. At Trinity, an intensification of the urban pattern had occurred with the erection of streets of terraced and flatted houses between the docks and Newhaven Road and several streets of villas between the latter street and Granton Road. Small pockets of terraced houses and a few blocks of tenement dwellings had also been developed and, combined with the several remaining areas of parkland and playing fields, this district still presented an intricate status pattern. However, most of developments of the raised beach lands at Trinity were of good status, contrasting with the Grade V cottages and tenements which had filled the narrow coastal strip between Granton and Leith Docks.

As can be seen from Figure 21, Portobello was really an independent urban area with an intricate spatial pattern of assessment areas. The fact that most of the development was within the confined area between the coast and the main railway line to London, accentuated this complexity for within this small area were the principal industrial area at Westbank, the resort land uses beside the Promenade, the main thoroughfares of High Street and

Bath Street, and the good quality residential developments in the streets opposite the railway station and to the east in the vicinity of Argyle Crescent.

An urban tentacle extended southwards to Duddingston Park and another small villa district lay to the south of the main railway line at Brunstane Road, Dalkeith Road and Morton Street. Some large houses between Bath Street, High Street and Joppa Road still remained but many had been converted into hotels and boarding houses adding to the fragmentation of the residential structure. A row of Grade V tenement houses had been erected at Kings Road on the extreme western margin of Portobello, whilst several small rows of terraced houses flanked Portobello Road.

The development of the suburban railway and the tramway system had influenced much of the suburban development between 1880 and 1914, making several peripheral sites attractive potential residential locations. In particular, it may well have encouraged the development of middle class districts in suburban situations such as that at Comiston or the small pocket at Saughtonhall. However, it also simplified intra-urban movement for all social classes. The spatial association of low status residential areas and industrial districts did not necessarily mean that all residents of the former worked in local factories. However, the occupational evidence in the Valuation Roll implied a strong degree of local workplace-residence association. At Meadowbank-Abbehill, for example, many of the residents of Grade V houses were brewery or railway workers, both of which were local industries.

Significantly, the status of sparsely developed suburbs in 1855 had mostly been confirmed by later trends with the exception of extremely small mid-nineteenth century pockets such as those at Spring Gardens or the single mansion at Dalry. At Lauriston ridge, however, conversion of some dwellings, invasion by institutions and infilling of vacant sites by tenement blocks, had reduced the overall residential status by 1914. Similarly, the intensification of residential development between Leith Walk and Easter Road left the small 1855 elements beside London Road and Elm Row as minor pockets of higher valued residences in a predominantly low status district.

At Inverleith the presence of playing fields and parks constricted the growth of the residential suburb. Indeed, green space accounted for most of the gaps between good-high status residential areas in suburban locations as can be seen by comparing Figures 21 and 23.

Thus the spatial pattern of residential areas had experienced considerable change between 1855 and 1914, both in detail and in general layout, whilst several new residential areas had developed and some had virtually vanished from the residential structure as a result of invasion by commercial land uses.

During this period the influence of the feu-superior was particularly apparent at Coates and Marchmont, although it operated at many scales. For example, the chartularies of George Heriot's Trust revealed that even small developments such as the tenement block in Churchhill Place were explicitly defined in structure, size and building materials in the feuing agreement. Increased mobility had

not only fostered suburban growth within the administrative area but also at Barnton, Corstorphine, Colinton and Liberton, which, in 1914, lay outwith the city. Similarly, some of the most recent urban accretions within the city at Braid, Lockharton and Saughtonhall provided the skeleton of districts which emerged in the 1920's. As, in 1855, the foundations of new districts were already present in the pattern. Equally, many of the factors which were to produce further changes influencing the residential structure were beginning to emerge by 1914. These will be examined in Chapter 4.

CHAPTER 4.

PART 1.

Urban and Economic Development 1914-1962.

Between 1911 and 1961 the population of Edinburgh and Leith increased from 320,318 to 468,361. The striking feature of this period, however, was the rapid extension of the built-up area of the city. Changing housing standards and tastes, new and improved transport, the enlargement of the office and commercial district in the city centre, and industrial relocation all contributed to this growth. Moreover, Edinburgh experienced further boundary extensions, notably in 1920, when Leith and a substantial suburban ring around Edinburgh were added producing most of the present administrative unit. Thus, in the space of one hundred and fifty years Edinburgh had mushroomed from the High Street nucleus to a major city covering most of the lands between the Rivers Almond and Esk, the Pentland Hills and the Firth of Forth (see Fig. 24).

Between 1920 and 1939 residential growth continued with the erection of new speculative developments at Craigen-tinny, Southfield, Liberton, Buckstane, Colinton, Craiglockhart, Kingsknowe, Corstorphine, Craigleith, Blackhall, Drylaw and Barnton. In addition, in the 1930's the Town Council endeavoured to encourage the erection of houses for renting by offering speculative developers land at attractive feu duties and with the payment of a small premium for each house which was built. As a result, large schemes of flatted villas were developed at Carrick Knowe, Sighthill, Colinton

*1'
Mains and Pilton.

Much of the private villa and bungalow speculation was carried out by small concerns. One of the characteristics of this period was the large number of small building companies developing a few houses at a time in suburban locations. Many went bankrupt but a few such as James Millar and Sons emerged as leading building concerns. Most of the private developers of the 1920 to 1962 were interviewed in 1964-65 and their comments and observations are presented in Appendix 6 . Two features merit mention at this juncture. Firstly, many of the small builders had strong local affinities and tended to prefer to deal with one land superior and purchase a few plots at a time, resulting in a slow development of the streets in the areas affected by this method of speculation. Secondly, a few companies, notably Hepburn Brothers and T. S. Henderson, operated on a larger scale. The former, for example, developed sites at Craigentenny, Greenbank, Kingsknowe, Juniper Green, Glasgow Road and Craigs Road, whilst the latter was the principal builder at Blackhall and Craigleith. As a result two conflicting trends emerged in the 1920 to 1939 private house speculation with small individualistic areas contrasting with large estates which had a restricted range of house types and which were reproduced in several locations. On the evidence of house types this phenomenon had existed for more than one hundred years. For example, the 'colonies' were all developed on basically similar patterns although minor variations of size and layout of houses did occur. Equally the Victorian villas at Newington were similar to

*1 See Photograph 51

*2 See Photograph 49. See also House Plan 7.

those at Merchiston. However, they were almost certainly not the work of the same building company and this new aspect introduced a greater uniformity of content and layout in the 1920 to 1939 districts.

Moreover, the builders clearly considered the desirability of the site in the decision about the precise content of the speculation and recognised that setting influenced likely purchasers.

A further new component entered the residential scene at this period with the encouragement of local authority housing projects in the post 1920 era. At first the Town Council attempted to develop sites which would not affect private residential districts but in the 1930's the need for improved accommodation for many of the residents of the Old Town and Canongate districts resulted in the erection of large estates at Craigmillar, Northfield, Pilton and Saughton in addition to the first suburban council house schemes at Hutchison and Restalrig.

The Second World War and the period up to 1954 was one of stagnation in the housing industry due to shortages of materials, labour and capital. The principal developments were the local authority 'prefab' housing areas, temporary schemes to produce some new housing in the immediate post 1945 period. Several projects were completed between 1946 and 1948 at Northfield, Joppa, Southfield, Greendykes, Craigmillar, Moredun, Ferneside, Hyoots' Bank, Southhouse, Colinton Mains, Longstone, Calder Road, West Pilton and Muirhouse. In total just over 4000 prefabricated temporary dwellings were erected with an intended life of ten years. Almost all of these were

still occupied in 1962.

The general introduction of planning legislation in the post 1945 period has affected the pattern of residential growth. In particular, the definition of a Green Belt around Edinburgh meant that some of the remaining undeveloped suburban land within the city was now zoned as green space.

In the period between 1950 and 1962 private residential development revived and new estates were added at Portobello, Duddingston, Buckstone, Colinton, Corstorphine,^{*} Cramond and Silverknowes. However, the available land was limited and much was already in the possession of major builders such as J. Miller & Son and Messrs. MacTaggart and Mickel. This, along with the adherence to the planning zones and the city boundary has created a pressure on building land and upon the existing stock of good quality houses with consequent marked price inflation.

Local authority houses, however, have dominated the post 1945 pattern. Vast new schemes have been erected at Bingham, Magdalene, Niddrie, Gilmerton, Gracemount, Oxbgangs, Broomhouse, Muirhouse and Pilton and smaller developments have occurred at Clermiston and West Mains.

Moreover, the extension of the boundary, in 1920, incorporated further large areas of green space (see Fig. 30) and a number of institutions, particularly hospitals which had been located in the rural-urban fringes of the city.

Much of the residential expansion between 1920 and 1962 was dependent upon improved transport facilities. The tramway system was extended to many of the new developments

* See Photograph 50 and House Plan 8.

but some were linked to the network by feeder bus services. Peripheral areas were served by the Scottish Motor Traction Co. bus services during the early part of this period. In the post 1945 period, increased ownership of the motor car added to the mobility of many citizens but the suburban rail service remained an important component in the total structure until the 1950's. Thereafter, the increased usage of buses and private cars made the line uneconomic and it closed early in the 1960's.

Within the built-up area of 1914, minor infilling occurred to complete the pattern such as the flats at Falcon* but the principal changes resulted from demolition and conversion. In the Old Town district and at Pleasance some old tenements were replaced by new local authority houses in the 1930's. At a later date the shortage of building land encouraged speculators to purchase villas at Merchiston and Ravelston and erect luxury flatted dwellings on the sites.

The Central Business District expanded substantially in the period between 1914 and 1962 to embrace most of the extensions of the New Town and non-residential land uses invaded many main roads in the Victorian villa districts, for example, at Minto Street and Bruntsfield Place. In addition, the large houses of the 1914 period became intolerable financial burdens in an age of increasing costs and taxes, and were subdivided into flatted properties.

Thus, by 1962, the residential area of Edinburgh had grown enormously and changed substantially in composition and distribution.

* See Photographs 27 and 28.

Leith also experienced a certain amount of change apart from the loss of its independent status in 1920 but the residential pattern remained largely unaltered. Indeed, one of the problems was that Leith had no land onto which it could expand to build new houses. As a result, part of the negotiations in 1920 included an agreement that Edinburgh would give land at Restalrig to accommodate those displaced by a slum clearance scheme in central Leith.

The industrial structure also altered between 1914 and 1962, as can be seen from Fig. 29 . During this period, several industries moved to arterial road sites such as Glasgow Road or to new premises in peripheral locations. In particular, three features occurred. Firstly, a number of new industries developed of which the electronics concern of Ferranti at Pilton was the most important. Secondly, the industrial estate at Sighthill emerged as a new location after 1945. Thirdly, a certain amount of re-organization also occurred notably with the closing of some breweries and flour mills in the 1950's and early 1960's and the re-orientating of product by several companies to meet changes in market demand. Nonetheless, Edinburgh retained an industrial function and maintained an important position in administration, law and finance for the whole of Scotland.

In 1962, therefore, Edinburgh presented a complex urban structure with remnants from several periods. Moreover, parks, hills and playing fields still divided much of the post 1855 areas into distinct zones of growth

alongside the main roads although infilling of the intervening lands had occurred in several districts, notably at Corstorphine and Duddingston. Few residences remained in the New Town and even the Old Town was now becoming a minor residential district as the tenements were condemned and pulled down. Large suburban estates had developed and consumed extensive tracts between the hill areas and around the parks and playing field sites. By 1962, little developable land remained within the city boundary for housing because of site or planning restrictions.

The newer districts conformed to modern standards of house size and facilities. One reflection of this is the population density pattern shown in Figure 28. Total acreage was used in the calculations and several wards contained large hill areas so that their true density was higher than the map indicates. Nonetheless, as Joints points out even when open space is excluded: "The main areas of closely-settled residential districts are those predominantly occupied by working-class houses erected during the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, when multi-storeyed terraced tenement buildings were the principal form of housing for poorer families. A zone of such houses runs from Leith south-westwards to St. Leonards and thence north of the Meadows to Dalry and Gorgie. ---- Lowest densities of all (below 20 per acre) are associated with wards which contain a high incidence of

twentieth century upper-class housing - Murrayfield-Cramond in the north-west and Colinton in the south-west".¹ Thus the basic pattern remains the same as that in Fig. 28, even when the hill areas and parks are excluded from the density computations.

1. Jones, R. in "An Atlas of Edinburgh" Edinburgh Branch Geographical Association. 1965. p. 16.

CHAPTER 4.

PART 2.

Introduction to the Residential Analysis.

The Valuation Roll of 1962/63 provided the source of assessment information for the third period analysis. However the information differed in several ways from that of 1855 and 1914. Firstly, occupations were not listed in the 1962 Valuation Roll and as a result the construction of assessment grades had to depend on other secondary data such as house types and sale prices. A more fundamental difference, however, was the fact that almost one quarter of all dwellings in the city in 1962 were local authority houses. This presented a problem because they were in effect a separate category in the house structure being neither truly parts of the free house market nor confined to one section of the population in terms of allocation and occupance. Although the local authority houses constructed between 1890 and 1939 were almost exclusively designed to accommodate working class families, by rehousing those living in extremely poor quality tenements in the older districts of the city, the general shortage of new housing between 1939 and 1955 meant that many post war local authority schemes had a more varied social structure because they became the principal source of new houses during that period. Moreover even today, allocation of a local authority house depends on a number of factors in addition to socic economic status. Because of this the local authority houses are treated in the subsequent analysis as a separate assessment category although they range in gross annual valuation from £7-£155, only fifteen, however, being assessed at more than £90 per annum. The frequency distribution

of local authority house values is shown in Appendix 3 B.

The frequency distribution of the owner occupied and rented houses in the private sector is listed in Appendix 3A. They had an assessment range of £3 to £450 with a mode of £21. However significant differences occurred in this sector of the assessment structure as a result of two processes. Firstly, whereas the Assessor in 1855 and 1914 was able to judge valuations on actual rent information because a significant proportion of all houses were rented, by 1962 this was no longer possible. After 1914 there had been a virtual cessation of building for rent in the private sector, apart from the flatted villa schemes of the 1930's. In any case, factors such as rent controls and the general housing scarcity had produced a situation in which the assessor was unable to assume a free market as had been done in 1855 and 1914. In the Valuation and Rating (Scotland) Act, 1956, the Assessor was instructed to assume a balanced market with neither scarcity nor surplus and to calculate assessments using whatever rental and house sale price information there was available, given a statutory guidance system of factors which were to provide a standard basis for assessment. These involved the size of house, age and condition, the general amenity of the location and whether the residence was detached or part of some multiple residential unit e.g. a tenement or a flatted villa. Thus the first two factors gave a standard rating which could be reduced but not increased by amenity and attachment. The floor space factor was then multiplied by a monetary unit which represented the Assessor's balanced market calculations. Nevertheless, the valuation

process was still concerned in effect with ranking houses in terms of size and condition and as such, accorded with the system of 1855 and 1914. Indeed for many dwellings this change in procedure was largely a technical one, for their actual assessment varied very little between 1914 and 1962. However, as occurred between 1855 and 1914, changes in the total house structure of the city inevitably influenced the assessment pattern. In this case many of the very small and very large houses of the 1914 pattern were no longer present in 1962, and particularly in the higher value section this meant a readjustment of the relative importance of some houses, large suburban villas increasing appreciably in assessment.

The five assessment grades identified were as follows: Grade I £120 and above, Grade II £91-£119, Grade III £66-£90, Grade IV £45-£65, Grade V £3-£44. The number of houses in each grade and their percentage of the total structure are shown below.

I	4901	3.2%
II	9376	6.1%
III	19958	12.9%
IV	25809	16.7%
V	55717	36.1%
Local Authority	38487	25.0%
	<u>154248</u>	

These percentages were quite similar to those of the 1855 grade structure for Edinburgh when Grades I to V respectively accounted for 3.2%, 4.4%, 10.7%, 14.4% and 67.3%.

In general, the 1914 to 1962 period had produced a narrowing of the assessment structure with the removal of most of the very small houses and the subdivision of the extremely large Georgian and Victorian terraced dwellings. Nevertheless, size variations still remained as the assessment range clearly illustrates.

One feature which assisted in the selection of assessment categories in 1962 was the development between 1920 and 1962 of comparatively homogeneous bungalow and flatted villa schemes, for these areas represented clearly identifiable elements in the valuation structure. Thus the boundary value between Grades IV and V represented the lowest assessment in the flatted villa schemes which after 1955 had entered the sale market and many, by 1962, were owner occupied. Another indication of the changing structure of society is given by the fact that more than four fifths of the houses in Grades I, II and III and even a third of those in Grade V were owner occupied in 1962. Thus although occupancy still increased in relation to assessment, this was no longer in a general stepped pattern because Grades I, II and III had almost identical percentages of houses which were owner occupied. Although there was a general decline in the number of houses as assessments exceeded £100, the structure was no longer completely pyramidal in character for the lowest assessments from £3 to £9 only accounted for 421 houses and the distribution had a major peak between £18 and £28. However a number of secondary peaks occurred notably at £40 and £50. The

bunching tendency of earlier periods was also not as pronounced in 1962, although there was still a slight favouring of certain units. In this case, this can be explained in terms of identical houses being given a common assessment grading.

The data, as in 1914, was recorded, collected and tabulated by municipal wards and a preliminary analysis was undertaken using this base unit. Many of the wards had changed since 1914 and figure 25 shows the 1962 structure. The wards were ranked in terms of assessment grades, with local authority houses being treated as a separate grade, and on the basis of the total number of houses, and this is shown in Table 8 .

In general the tendencies which existed in 1914 of wards which had high rank in Grades I to IV having low rank in Grade V, were still a feature of the pattern. Thus, Murrayfield-Crammond, Ward 11, had prime rank for Grades I and II but was eighteenth for Grade V. Conversely Gorgie-Dalry, Ward 10, was the largest Grade V example and ranked twenty second in Grade I. However the relationship of the local authority rankings to those of the other assessment grades was complex. This was basically attributable to the fact that most of the local authority houses were located in suburban areas many of which were also important higher value districts in the private housing sector. However Figures 26 and 27 examine this spatial pattern in greater detail. In Figure 26 the wards are classified on the basis of the percentage of houses in Grades I, II and III with local authority houses excluded from the calculation. Three

TABLE 8RANKING OF WARDS OF EDINBURGH. 1962.

<u>WARDS</u>	<u>ASSESSMENT GRADES</u>						<u>TOTAL NO.</u>
	I	II	III	IV	V	L.A.	<u>OF HOUSES.</u>
1. St. Giles	17	18	21	18	3	13	14
2. Holyrood	23	23	23	20	6	18	20
3. George Square	15	13	14	4	9	23	19
4. Newington	2	3	8	10	12	10	8
5. Liberton	7	6	7	21	20	1	1
6. Morningside	3	7	6	3	14	20	21
7. Merchiston	6	10	12	6	10	22	18
8. Colinton	5	2	4	7	19	7	6
9. Sighthill	19	21	19	2	23	3	11
10. Gorgie-Dalry	22	17	16	19	1	11	7
11. Corstorphine	10	8	1	1	21	12	9
12. Murrayfield-Cramond	1	1	2	16	18	8	4
13. Pilton	17	20	18	9	22	2	5
14. St. Bernard's	4	5	5	8	13	9	2
15. St. Andrews	9	11	13	17	8	21	22
16. Broughton	12	12	11	5	7	17	15
17. Calton	14	16	17	13	5	19	16
18. West Leith	8	9	10	14	11	14	17
19. Central Leith	19	18	20	22	2	16	13
20. South Leith	13	14	15	15	4	15	12
21. Craigmillar	16	15	9	11	16	4	10
22. Portobello	11	4	3	12	15	6	3
23. Craigmillar	21	22	22	23	17	5	23

Wards, Liberton, Colinton and Murrayfield-Crammond, had more than three fifths of their non local authority houses in Grades I, II and III. Conversely, seven wards had less than 5% of the houses in these value grades. In Figure 27, the wards are classified on the basis of the percentage of local authority houses in the total house structure of each ward. Pilton and Craigmillar Wards illustrated the concentration which characterised much of the post 1930 Council developments for in both, over three quarters of the houses had been erected by the local authority. However the complexity of the structure in 1962 can be seen from the fact that more than half of the houses in Liberton Ward, which was an important area of middle and high value dwellings in the private sector, were local authority houses. Another feature of Figure 27 was the comparatively low percentages of the central wards, particularly those in Leith. This reflected the fact that by 1962, Edinburgh had not proceeded very far with schemes for redevelopment of some of the older residential districts although many of these have subsequently come to fruition.

The following parts of this chapter analyse the residential structure in 1962.

CHAPTER 4.PART 3.The Analysis of the Residential Structure of Edinburgh. 1962.

The distribution of the 4,901 Grade I houses is shown in Figure 31. Nearly half of these houses were located to the south of the Meadows between Polwarth and Newington and in post 1914 extensions at Colinton, Fairmilehead and Liberton. A second zone occurred at West Coates and Murrayfield and another enclave was situated on the slopes of Corstorphine Hill immediately to the west of the Zoological Park. Barnton and Inverleith-Trinity were also important foci of Grade I houses whilst a number remained in the western, Northern and Eastern Extensions of the New Town and the Moray development. Finally, a number of small clusters occurred notably at Portobello, Duddingston and beside Leith Links.

Many of the Trade I houses in 1962 were Victorian and Edwardian villas, although a number were more recent and some were flatted Georgian residences. In general, the majority were assessed at between £120 and £200 and only 205 residences were valued at more than £200 per annum.

Newington was the site of 859 Grade I houses. However, many of the Grade I residences of 1914 were now converted to hotels and non-residential uses particularly those in Minto Street and Craignillar Park. Thus, the 1962 Grade I dwellings had mostly been in the Grade II or

III rental category in 1914. For example the thirty one houses in Queen's Crescent were assessed at between £120 and £160. In 1914, the villas in Queens Crescent had been valued at between £55 and £90 per annum.^{#1} As in 1914, the cluster in the Newington district was divided into two parts by Causewayside. In the eastern portion, the main concentration occurred in the triangular site bounded by Mayfield Road,^{#2} Craignillar Park, Gordon Terrace and Suffolk Road, whilst westwards of Causewayside the villas and terraced houses between Sciennes Road and Grange Loan formed the principal area of Grade I residences. This distribution extended westwards along Grange ridge to include a cluster located between Strathearn Road and Whitehouse Terrace and a number of Grade I houses in Mortonhall Road and Oswald Road at Blackford. At the western end of the ridge several streets at Bruntsfield and Greenhill included Grade I houses. In particular the houses in Greenhill Gardens which had existed in 1855, were mostly assessed at more than £150 per annum.

The lands between Polwarth and Morningside Road included 217 Grade I dwellings. Polwarth Terrace was the principal focus but most of the streets of villas in this district still included Grade I dwellings although invasion by institutions had reduced the number of large residences. Nonetheless, many of these houses were substantial properties in the 1962 structure; one villa in Napier Road, for example, had a Gross Annual Valuation of £290.

^{#1} House Plan 3 illustrates a similar change in assessment.

^{#2} See Photograph 42.

An extension of this district followed the line of Colinton Road southwards to Firrhill. Several of the residences in this section were suburban villas which had been erected late in the nineteenth century but there were also large inter-war villas on the western side of the road. The sandstone villas were, however, larger than their twentieth century brick counterparts.

A similar extension southwards from the Newington district involved 121 Grade I residences between Liberton and Gilmerton. Liberton Drive was the main site of Grade I houses in this district but apart from Liberton House which was assessed at £260, most of these twentieth century dwellings were valued at between £120 and £150.

To the south of the suburban railway at Morningside, the slopes of Braid and Comiston contained 301 Grade I dwellings^{*1} whilst an extension at Braid Hills and Greenbank was the site of another 128 houses in this rental category. Those at Greenbank were comparatively small Grade I residences. The mean value of the thirty four dwellings in Greenbank Crescent, for example, was £128 whereas the average value of the Grade I villas of late nineteenth century origin in Braid Avenue was £167.

Finally, the ridge at Fairmilehead was the site of 144 Grade I houses, most of which had been built between 1920 and 1939. A quarter of these dwellings^{*2} were located in Frogsten Road West and their mean value was £155. Therefore, it would appear that some areas of newer residences rivalled the Victorian dwellings in size

*1 See Photographs 40 and 41.

*2 See Photograph 44.

and setting, for the Fairmilehead cluster occupied an attractive elevated site on a ridge beneath the Pentland Hills.

Colinton had emerged as a suburban commuter settlement in the last quarter of the nineteenth century. In the 1920's the streets of villas in the vicinity of Dreghorn Loan and Spylaw Bank were expanded and thereafter the village became an important suburban district of Edinburgh. In 1962, 216 Grade I houses were situated at Colinton. Many were sandstone villas on the slopes overlooking Colinton Dell and they had been developed after 1880 largely as a result of the rail connection from Colinton to Edinburgh. After 1920 the nucleus was enlarged and between 1950 and 1962 a further phase of construction invaded the lands to the south of Woodhall Road. A linear extension of this district occurred at Lanark Road which, in 1962, was the site of forty dwellings in the uppermost assessment grade.

Almost a quarter of all Grade I residences were located in an extensive wedge incorporating Murrayfield, Ravelstone, Corstorphine, Craigleith, Barnton and Cramond. However, this district consisted of several nuclei separated by parks, hill areas, institutions and lower valued bungalow and villa districts. The largest concentration occurred at Murrayfield-Ravelston which was the site of 463 Grade I dwellings. Contrast in house type was a feature of this area for many of the streets at Murrayfield consisted of terraced dwellings^{*1} whereas Ravelston Dykes was mainly composed of nineteenth and twentieth century villas.^{*2}

*1 See Photograph 21

*2 See Photograph 43.

To the west of Murrayfield, a small cluster of Grade I houses was situated at Belmont. These were particularly large mansions. The thirteen dwellings in Easter Belmont Road, for example, had a mean assessment of £216, the highest figure in the city.

A larger group was situated on the slopes of Corstorphine Hill to the west of the Zoological Gardens. Here, the streets of late Victorian and early Edwardian villas formed the nucleus of the Grade I pattern, but these were comparatively small dwellings; the mean value of the twenty one Grade I houses in Belgrave Road was £129. Although some streets adjoining Queensferry Road between Craigleith and Barnton contained a few Grade I dwellings, it was the latter district which formed the principal site of houses in this grade north of Corstorphine Hill.

Three locations were particularly important. Firstly, Cammo Crescent^{*} and Cammo Gardens were the site of large villas which had been erected during the second quarter of the present century. Secondly, Gamekeepers Road and Whitehouse Road formed another area of large dwellings, mostly assessed at more than £140, some of which dated from the late Victorian period. Finally, Barnton Avenue, a speculation by the local landowner, Sir James Maitland, in the later decades of the nineteenth century, included a number of very large mansions with a mean value of £214. The changing character of Grade I houses is illustrated by the fact that an important cluster

* See Photographs 45 and 46 for illustration of Grade I houses in this district.

of dwellings in this category were the recently erected luxury flats at Almond Court, Braepark. They had a mean value of £135 and like similar flats at Revelston they represented an important element in the high value residential structure.

The New Town, Northern Extension and Moray property were the site of 186 Grade I houses in 1962, of which fifty seven were located in the latter and only two houses at Charlotte Square remained as evidence of the vanished glory of the New Town. Moray Place had retained its position as a fashionable residential area and was the site of thirty three Grade I houses. However, whereas in 1914, these had been complete terraced residences now they were flats in the subdivided properties with a mean value of £143 and a maximum assessment of £245. This area remained an important locale for leading members of the legal profession.

In the Northern Extension, Heriot Row^{*} was the largest focus of Grade I houses, but Northumberland Street, which previously had been a Grade II nucleus, now included twenty five dwellings in the uppermost assessment category. However, the differences in house size between the two streets was reflected in their respective mean values of £167 and £137. In addition, several streets in this extension included a few Grade I dwellings, although these were mostly flatted properties.

The three terraces on Calton Hill contained a few Grade I houses but conversion to flats and invasion of by offices and hotels had also affected this district.

* See House Plan 1.

Nevertheless, the eleven Grade I dwellings in Royal Terrace had a high mean assessment, £192, illustrating the fact that even here, a complete Georgian terraced house was a large residence by 1962 standards.

The Western Extension and West Coates were the site of two hundred Grade I houses. Change of land use had expanded into the newer parts of the extension and even to Coates by the early 1960's and few streets had more than a small number of Grade I residences. Indeed, the largest cluster was seventeen dwellings in Wester Coates Avenue. Rothesay Terrace and Drumsheugh Gardens, sites of massive terraced dwellings in 1914, were now dominated by offices, nursing homes, hotels and clubs and the ten and six Grade I houses respectively had mean values of £161 and £171.

The Trinity district had now emerged as a fashionable district in the uppermost rental category and, in 1962, 283 Grade I houses were situated in this area. However, the mean values of most of the major clusters were relatively low; that of the twenty six dwellings in Netherby Road, for example, being £121.

One hundred and two residences in the uppermost assessment category were situated at Inverleith amidst a park and playfield complex (Fig. 30), with Inverleith Place forming the principal focus.

The Learmonth-Comely Bank district included 112 Grade I houses. Here, the streets on the west of the ridge were the principal sites whilst only eleven houses

in the Raeburn scheme were in the Grade I category. However, changes had occurred in detail and important 1914 foci such as Buckingham Terrace and Clarendon Crescent were now minor sites with five and seven Grade I houses respectively because of the conversion of the terraced dwellings into flatted properties. In 1962, the principal foci occurred in Learmonth Terrace, Learmonth Gardens and Belgrave Crescent and even these were flatted residences.

The lands of Portobello and Duddingston included 173 Grade I houses which occurred in several distinct groups, the largest being located between High Street, Portobello and the main east coast railway line. Other smaller groups were situated at Duddingston Road West, Milton Road and Duddingston Park.

Beside Leith Links, Claremont Park, Hermitage Place and Vanburgh Place were remnants of a nineteenth century villa cluster which included, in 1962, a number of Grade I houses. However, this district was also experiencing invasion by hotels and offices since these villas were attractive large properties on the fringe of central Leith.

Finally, small groups of Grade I residences were located at Pilrig Street, Ramsay Gardens, Wardie, Leamington and Lauriston, whilst two houses in George Square were assessed at £120 and £132 respectively. There were also isolated residences at Shandon, Lothian Road, Old Dalkeith Road, Niddrie Road, Peffermill Road, Broomhouse Road, South Gyle Road and Calder Road.

Figure 32 shows the distribution of Grade II houses. Most of the 9376 residences in this grade were located in five broad zones. Firstly, 3935 houses were situated in a southern wedge based upon Grange ridge but with extensions around the hill areas to Colinton, Fairmilehead and Liberton. Within this southern zone, the Newington district contained 980 Grade II houses, just over one tenth of all dwellings in this rental grade in the city. A small cluster occurred to the east of Dalkeith Road at Kilmaur Road, Priestfield Road and Cameron Park. South of the suburban railway, a larger group was located in the triangular piece of land between Mayfield Road and Craigmillar Park whilst several streets between Causewayside and Dalkeith Road also included Grade II villas and terraced houses.^{*1} Finally, to the west of Causewayside and predominantly on the south-facing slope, Grange ridge included several clusters of Grade II residences. This pattern continued westwards at Bruntsfield, Merchiston and Churchhill although in a more dispersed fashion with only minor clusters such as the terraced houses at Leamington Terrace, Hartington Place and Hartington Gardens or the villas at Polwarth Terrace.

A much larger conformation, however, occurred on the lands between Morningside and Fairmilehead involving 1250 Grade II houses. The streets of terraced dwellings at Comiston, particularly Craiglea Drive and Comiston Drive, were important foci but many of the post 1920 bungalow and villa developments also contained houses in this assessment category.^{*2} Indeed, a new component in the Grade II pattern of this district involved an estate

*1 See, for example, Photographs 12, 18 and 48

*2 See Photograph 47.

estate developed in 1960 on the south-facing slope of the ridge at Fairmilehead.

The suburban villages of Liberton and Colinton had emerged in the last quarter of the nineteenth century as attractive residential districts. By 1962 both areas included a number of Grade II dwellings. At Liberton, these were located between Alnwickhill Road and Kirk Brae. Some, notably at Liberton Drive, were comparatively large Grade II dwellings adjacent to houses in the uppermost assessment category. Several streets on the south side of the river at Colinton included Grade II houses, especially some of the post 1950 developments at Bonaly. However, the Spylaw section and Lanark Road were also sites of some houses in this grade although no marked clustering occurred.

In general most of the 1920-1939 bungalow districts spanned assessment Grades II and III in 1962. Craiglockhart, for example, included a number of Grade II houses in almost all of the streets in the development. In addition, some of the older terraced houses at Lockharton were in assessment Grade II.

The second major zone of Grade II dwellings, the western zone of 2655 houses, consisted of two prongs of development which had encompassed Corstorphine Hill. Thus, Murrayfield, Ravelston, Corstorphine, Learmonth, Craigleith, Blackhall and Barnton were all part of this western zone. Almost half of these houses were situated to the north of Corstorphine Hill between Craigleith and Barnton whilst a further 326 Grade II residences were located at Learmonth and on the sloping ground leading to

Raeburn Place. To the south of Corstorphine Hill, Corstorphine and Murrayfield contained 689 and 328 Grade II residences respectively. A scatter of Grade II houses occurred throughout this zone but there were also a number of nuclei. At Murrayfield, for example, Murrayfield Gardens and Ormidale Terrace formed important clusters whilst the sandstone villas in Gordon Road and Belgrave Road were part of a group west of Beechmont Hospital. On the western periphery, Glasgow Road^{#1} and North Gyle Road were the principal Grade II foci in the post 1920 bungalow developments and Balgreen Road^{#2} was the main site of houses in this category on the low-lying land south of the suburban railway line. Similarly, clusters were situated at Belford Gardens and Belford Avenue to the north of Ravelston ridge and at Ann Street^{#3} in the Raeburn scheme and Buckingham Terrace on the crest of the ridge at Learmonth.

Most of the streets at Blackhall included some Grade II dwellings and larger clusters occurred at Corbiehill and in the recently completed estate at Hillpark. On the western periphery of the city, new developments at Southfield, Cammo, Braepark and Cramond were all sites of Grade II dwellings. Finally, there were some Grade II houses in the MacTaggart and Mickel post 1950 estate at Silverknowes and some of the older villas at Cramond Road South and Barnton Park Avenue also fell within this assessment category.

Most of these Grade II foci revealed average assessment characteristics but the residences at Balgreen Road and Silverknowes Drive had comparatively low mean values of £96 and £94 respectively, whereas those at Ormidale Terrace and Craigleith Crescent had an average

#1 See Photograph 49

#2 See Photograph 24

#3 See Photograph 7

value of £111.

Most of the 783 Grade II dwellings in the northern zone were situated at Trinity. To the east of Newhaven Road, the terraced dwellings at Dudley and Summerside constituted a compact Grade II nucleus, while the lands between Granton Road and Newhaven Road also included a number of Grade II houses, notably in the section between Stirling Road and Trinity Road. Moreover, this area merged with Inverleith where 162 Grade II residences were located. Here Inverleith Gardens, Inverleith Row, Howard Place ^{*} and Eildon Street formed the main foci. One feature of the northern zone was the fact that almost all of the houses had been erected before 1914. Some had been in the Grade III category at that period but had gained in appeal with the decline in the number of very large houses between 1914 and 1962.

The eastern zone was situated between the slopes of Arthur's Seat and Portobello and included 1051 Grade II dwellings. At Portobello the main foci were Argyle Crescent, Pitt Street, Seafield Terrace and Morton Street, all sites of terraced residences and villas whilst Milton Road East and Coillesdene Avenue formed a cluster on the eastern margin of the zone. Finally, Durham Road, Milton Road West and Bingham Terrace were the largest Grade II sites between Duddingston Park and the old village beside Duddingston Loch. Collectively, these clusters contained almost one third of the Grade II houses in this zone. Although house type and age differences existed between these foci the average assessments were very similar.

* See Photograph 15.

Finally, the central residential district including the New Town and its extensions, the Old Town, Lauriston and the Bristo-St. Leonards area incorporated 646 Grade II houses, of which thirteen and ten respectively were located in the New Town and the Old Town. In the latter, nine houses in Ramsay Gardens were assessed at between £91 and £119. Other similar clusters in this zone occurred at George Square, Lauriston, Lothian Road, Hampton Terrace and Osborne Terrace which respectively contained 6, 26, 10 and 13 Grade II residences. Most of these were terraced dwellings or large flats in nineteenth century sandstone buildings.

The three extensions to the New Town and the Moray development included 568 Grade II houses. In general these were located in flatted properties either the products of subdivision of terraced dwellings or remnants of the original flatted blocks.

As a result there were now more Grade II than Grade I houses in the Northern and Western Extensions and in the Moray development. Moreover, many of these were situated in principal streets in these districts such as Heriot Row, Great King Street, Eglinton Crescent, and Moray Place. The latter contained 43 Grade II dwellings compared with 33 in the uppermost assessment category.

Although all of these streets had mean values in excess of £100 per annum, so had many suburban examples including isolated pockets such as the terraced dwellings at Pilrig Street and Shandon Crescent. Thus, on assessment evidence the Georgian districts were no longer

major fashionable areas. However, the very nature of these dwellings, spacious, elegant and central, questions this conclusion. In the absence of occupational data, one can only suggest that some citizens may have been willing to favour the attributes of a flat in Moray Place rather than a suburban mansion or villa at Barnton. Nonetheless, the Grade I and II houses in the New Town areas were little more than remnants of the earlier pattern in size and rank compared with the suburban districts which now dominated these rental grades.

Another remnant of an earlier pattern involved 111 Grade II dwellings at Hermitage beside Leith Links. In effect, this area had also retained its status as a small eastern enclave of relatively high status within the structure of residential areas in Leith.

Thus, although in 1962, the Grade II residential pattern of Edinburgh included elements from earlier periods, the principal components were areas which had been developed in the post 1914 expansion or incorporated by the 1920 boundary extension. A third facet involved terraced dwellings which, in 1914, had been in Grade III but were now in the Grade II assessment range, and flats created by the subdivision of some of the very large nineteenth and early twentieth century terraced residences.

The distribution of Grade III houses is shown on Figure 33. Most of these were post 1914 residences in suburban locations at Craighentinny, Duddingston, Greenbank, Comiston, Fairmilehead, Redford, Kingsknowe, Craiglockhart, Corstorphine, Craigleith, Barnton, Cramond and Silverknowes. Plans 7 and 8 illustrate typical houses

in this category. They were, in fact, the standard five apartment product of many private developments between 1914 and 1962 and included most of the bungalow districts of the 1930's. Small inter-war infillings within the urban area of 1914 had also included houses in this grade such as the terraced residences at Warriston and the bungalows at Ashley. In addition many of the small terraced houses developed between 1880 and 1914 and mostly assessed in Grade IV at the latter date, were in the 1962 Grade III category, such as those at Comiston and Willowbrae. Finally, some flats in the subdivided properties of the New Town areas and Learmonth, and in the good quality tenement developments of the 1880 to 1914 period were also in the Grade III category.

Thus, in 1962, the pattern consisted of several large suburban conformations along with a number of small nodes and scattered examples with the 1914 urban area.

One third of the Grade III houses were situated in the southern zone, with the Newington, Marchmont Comiston-Greenbank, Fairmilehead and Craiglockhart districts respectively containing 977, 561, 875, 596 and 646 residences in this assessment category. At Newington, the principal node lay to the east of Dalkeith Road in the Prestonfield bungalow development. Similarly the Grade III houses in the Craiglockhart, Greenbank, Fairmilehead and Redford districts were all post 1920 bungalows and villas. The Liberton-Gilmerton area contained 631 Grade III houses which were situated in several spacially discrete locations. In particular, ribbon patterns occurred at Captain's Road,

Alnwickhill Road and Gilmerton Road and a more intensive knot was situated between Liberton Drive and Leadervale Road.

On the western margin of this southern zone, a similar ribbon pattern occurred at Lanark Road with a more intensive focus at Kingsknowe adjoining the golf course.

This zone was separated from the western one by the wedge of industry and lower value housing between the Union Canal and the Edinburgh-Glasgow railway. In the intervening tract of land a cluster of Grade III houses occurred at Ashley where an allotment area in 1914 had been developed in the 1930's as a bungalow estate, and at Allan Park, an extension of the Craiglockhart district, and north Kingsknowe. Finally, small groups represented isolated inter-war speculations or remnants of earlier fringe developments. For example, the red sandstone terraced houses at Moat Place and Moat Street had been part of an urban outlier in the Slateford district in 1914, but were now surrounded by industrial premises and local authority houses.

Much of the post 1914 development at Corstorphine fell within assessment Grade III in 1962 both on the slopes of Corstorphine Hill and to the south between the old village and a burn called the Stank.

Developments between 1955 and 1962 at Clermiston Road and Drum Brae had linked the Corstorphine concentration with small clusters at Barnton and Queensferry Road. However, to the east a large group of Grade III houses were located in the inter war bungalow districts of Blackhall and Corbiehill and in a predominantly post 1950 estate at Silverknowes. This

area merged eastwards with groups of Grade III houses at Blinkbonny, Orchard Bank and Craigleith Hill. These were separated from a group in Grigor Avenue and Davidson Road by the Western General Hospital. Another small outlier occurred at Easter Drilaw which had now been surrounded by local authority and Scottish Special Housing Association houses.

Belmont and Saughtonhall were also sites of Grade III houses which had been erected in the 1930's. Greater variety of house type occurred here with semi-detached villas and bungalows in addition to the older terraced houses at Saughtonhall.

The eastern zone between Arthur's Seat and Portobello contained 16.2% of all the Grade III houses in Edinburgh. Here also the main concentrations occurred in post 1914 estates at Craighentinny, Northfield and Duddingston although there were a number of streets of Grade III houses at Willowbrae and in the eastern part of Portobello at Joppa which included older properties.

At East Leith, 454 Grade III houses were situated between Lochend Road and Seafield on the slopes of Hermitage Hill. Restalrig Terrace, Pirniefield Place, Prospect Bank Place and Hermitage Place were the site of two fifths of these houses.

To the west, the lands at Trinity and Inverleith contained several small clusters of Grade III dwellings, especially at Dudley, Bangholm and Boswall.

Finally, the central zone between Stockbridge and the Meadows, and Calton Hill and Comely Bank contained

2204 Grade III houses, just over one tenth of all the residences in this assessment Grade. The New Town and Eastern Extension were minor foci in the Georgian districts with 34 and 22 Grade III houses respectively. Similarly, the Old Town, Lauriston ridge and the Lothian Road district were also minor locations of houses in this grade. However, the streets of tenement flats at the south western flank of Lauriston near the Meadows had continued to form a Grade III cluster, particularly at Lonsdale Terrace and Glengyle Terrace.

At the eastern margins of the Meadows 176 Grade III houses were situated in the Bristo-St. Leonards district, with the principal cluster occurring in Bernard Terrace, although several adjoining streets included a few dwellings in this grade. These were mostly 'main-door' flats.

The Northern Extension of the New Town contained 574 Grade III dwellings,^{#1} particularly in Great King Street, India Street, Dundas Street, Pitt Street, Scotland Street and London Street. As in the "South Side" and Lauriston examples, many of these houses had been in rental Grade III in 1914 and even in 1855. However, others were the product of division of terraced dwellings in the second quarter of the twentieth century. At Saxe-Coburg Place,^{#2} for example, most of the terraced dwellings were now divided into two or three flats, each comprising one floor of the original residence.

Three hundred and sixty two Grade III houses were situated in the Western Extension of the New Town and in the adjacent Coates development. These were distributed in most of the streets between Walker Street and Coates

*1 See House Plan 2.

*2 See Photograph 16.

Gardens where the terraced houses had now been divided into flatted dwellings.

Another 457 Grade III houses were located at Learmonth-Comely Bank either as flats in what had previously been terraced houses or as the larger flats in the tenement buildings at Comely Bank.

In addition a block of service flats at Learmonth included fifty two houses in this assessment category.

Finally, the area between Broughton Street and Easter Road contained 373 Grade III residences. The pattern here consisted of small clusters at Bellevue and Pilrig and a larger concentration in the tenement streets immediately to the north of Royal Terrace Gardens. In addition, a few Grade III houses occurred in many of the streets between Broughton Street and Leith walk. Like many of the other houses of this grade in the central zone, these dwellings were minor elements in the residential structure. Normally, they occurred in streets dominated by Grade IV or V tenement houses. This contrasted with the suburban examples where some homogeneous nodes existed and, in general, the mixed assessment districts in which Grade III dwellings occurred, favoured higher assessment grades. However, wherever tenement dwellings characterised the residential structure, as at Marchmont, the balance lay between the respective proportions of Grade III and IV houses.

The distribution of the 25,809 Grade IV houses is shown in Figure 34. This grade was characterised by

large peripheral comparatively homogeneous conformations, notably in the flatted villas erected in the 1930's at Carrick Knowe,^{*1} Colinton Mains, Sighthill and Pilton. Moreover, extensions in the 1950's at Broomhall and some contemporary speculations at Silverknowes, Craigs and Mountcastle consisted of semi-detached bungalows and terraced dwellings which, in 1962, were in assessment Grade IV. A second category of clusters in this assessment range occurred in the areas of late nineteenth and early twentieth century good-quality tenements, e.g., Merchmont^{*2} and Comely Bank. Finally, scattered elements of the pattern involved flats within the central zone, some terraced houses in the 'colonies' at Ashley and Restalrig and peripheral groups of post 1920 semi-detached bungalows, flatted villas and terraced residences.

A quarter of all residences in this grade were located in the districts of Colinton Mains, Carrickknowe-Broomfield, Sighthill-Parkhead, Saughtonhall, Pilton and Silverknowes. Most of these were in flatted villas and had been created by one development company, Messrs. MacTaggart and Mickel in the 1930's and, in the case of Broomhall, in the 1950's.

The Merchmont, Bruntsfield, Polwarth and Comely Bank tenement districts included nearly four thousand Grade IV dwellings. In addition, several smaller tenement areas contained local clusters of dwellings in this assessment category. For example, there were 806 Grade IV houses between Buccleuch Street and

*1 See Photograph 51

*2 See Photograph 23.

St. Leonards Street and 907 between London Road and Montgomery Street in sections of the tenement districts of Bristo-St. Leonards and Leith Walk-Easter Road respectively.

Although many districts of the city included a number of Grade IV residences, these houses normally were minor elements in the general character of the areas with the exception of the large conformations in the flatted villa and good quality tenement districts. Elsewhere the Grade IV houses were examples of small dwellings in predominantly higher value areas or larger residences in Grade V districts. In most cases the Grade IV houses occurred in a few streets in the district although on occasion, a more dispersed pattern occurred, especially in the central zone and in very high and low value districts. Newington illustrated this tendency to concentrate with most of the 986 Grade IV houses occurring in tenement blocks at Dalkeith Road, Findhorn Place,^{*} Sciennes and MacDowall Road or in small terraced and bungalow properties in West Savigle Terrace and Priestfield Crescent. Indeed, 265 of the dwellings were situated in Dalkeith Road whilst the principal villa streets were virtually devoid of Grade IV residences. This pattern was repeated in other districts. At Morningside, for example, there were no Grade IV houses to the east of Braid Road and only one at Greenbank. In areas of more heterogeneous speculation greater mingling naturally occurred. At Saughtonhall, for example, development had

* See Photograph 22.

spanned three decades and varied streets had been erected, including a number of local authority dwellings. Thus, the principal Grade IV foci at Glendevon,^{#1} Baird and Riversdale were separated by local authority houses and the higher assessed terraced dwellings between Balgreen Road and Saughtonhall Drive.

The colonies at Ashley^{#2} and Restalrig were dominated by Grade IV houses and formed compact clusters in the overall distribution pattern, as did a few tracts of small inter-war houses such as those at Marionville and Restalrig. Most inter-war bungalow estates included three- and four-apartment detached and semi-detached dwellings which fell within the Grade IV category in 1962.

The New Town districts contained 705 Grade IV houses, of which 616 were situated in the Northern and Western Extensions but no major clusters occurred in any street. In general, the flatted streets of the original design in the Northern Extension and minor peripheral streets, such as Haymarket Terrace and Torphichen Street, in the Western Extension were the main sites of Grade IV houses. An important cluster occurred to the north of the Northern Extension, however, in Eyre Crescent and in several streets at Bellevue. The latter was another area where an early nineteenth century nucleus had gradually expanded with the erection of terraced houses late in the same century and, finally, in the 1930's an allotment site was invaded by semi-detached and flatted villas.

To the east of Arthur's Seat, the developments at Willowbrae, Craigentenny, Northfield and Portobello

#1 See Photograph 29.

#2 See Photograph 31.

collectively included 5% of all the Grade IV houses in Edinburgh. Significantly, this varied area which had mostly been developed during the preceding seven decades had a greater admixture of house size than other suburbs such as Corstorphine, Braid or Colinton. At Corstorphine, for example, most of the Grade IV houses were recently erected semi-detached bungalows apart from a few flats in isolated tenement blocks, whilst the large Grade IV district at Carrick Knowe and Broomhall formed a distinct separate urban unit. At Colinton, the Grade IV houses were isolated examples in the villa areas apart from a small group of new dwellings at Campbell Park. Similarly, the new houses at Fox Springs were the principal Grade IV examples between Greenbank ridge and Fairmilehead.

Although the development at Craigleith and Blackhall included a number of Grade IV dwellings these were strongly focalised into particular sections, notably in March Road. The Craigleith Hill development, however, had a greater mixture of Grade III and IV dwellings.

Thus the 1962 Grade IV distribution involved a complex interplay of components with new developments and elements from earlier periods in various degrees of spatial concentration from a diffuse scatter to compact and quite large estates. Moreover, whilst some areas were homogeneous Grade IV districts, many dwellings in this assessment grade were minor parts of higher and lower value districts. Consequently, Grade IV continued to occupy the same role in the assessment structure as it

had in 1855 and 1914, although the precise spatial distribution had undergone considerable detailed alteration during this period.

The distribution of Grade V houses in 1962, Figure 35, was in fact, remarkably similar to that of the lowest grade in 1914 (see Fig. 20). Moreover, the pattern was still associated with the distribution of industries in the city, Figure 29. However, post 1914 industrial developments had mainly occurred in suburban locations whilst the virtual absence of low rent speculative house construction after the First World War limited the Grade V pattern to pre-1914 houses.

The principal changes in the Grade V pattern resulted either from the demolition of particularly insanitary tenements in the older districts around the High Street, Canongate, Pleasance, Fountainbridge, Greenside and at Central Leith or the incorporation of several villages in the 1920 extension of the administrative area, notably the mining villages of Niddrie, Newcraighall and Gilmerton.

Table 9 shows the number, and median and mode assessments, of Grade V residences in the municipal wards in 1962. This provides a general picture of the distribution of the 55,717 Grade V houses and the focal points of residences with particularly low assessments. Another summary on a ward basis is provided by Figure 26 where most areas with low percentages are, in effect, major Grade V districts, the principal exception to this generalisation being Craigmillar Ward which was dominated by Council houses.

TABLE 9.Grade V Houses 1962 : City Wards.

<u>Ward.</u>	<u>No. of Grade V Houses.</u>	<u>Gross Annual Valuation</u>	
		<u>Mode</u>	<u>Median.</u>
1. St. Giles	5099	£21	£22
2. Holyrood	4389	21	23
3. George Square	1863	40	30
4. Newington	2237	40	30
5. Liberton	396	24	24
6. Morningside	1422	40	38
7. Merchiston	2561	40	31
8. Colinton	521	25	26
9. Sighthill	80	26	24
10. Gorgie-Dalry	6232	21	26
11. Corstorphine	305	36	31
12. Murrayfield-Cramond	648	40	31
13. Pilton	97	31	29
14. St. Bernards	2138	44	31
15. St. Andrews	2996	11	19
16. Broughton	3148	21	28
17. Calton	4662	21	26
18. West Leith	2452	21	24
19. Central Leith	5670	21	22
20. South Leith	4868	21	26
21. Craigminty	956	40	34
22. Portobello	1327	22	27
23. Craigmillar	650	17	21

The clearance of many of the one and two room dwellings in the older areas had reduced the size of the Grade V clusters in these districts. Nonetheless almost two thirds of the Grade V houses occurred in the Old Town, Bristo-St. Leonards, Abbeyhill-Meadowbank, Leith Walk-Lochend, Central Leith, Stockbridge, Fountainbridge and Dalry-Gorgie districts. The flats assessed at less than £20 per annum were mostly two apartment dwellings, their occupants often still sharing common toilet facilities with other residents on the same floor.

A housing survey in 1946 revealed that 106,011 houses in Edinburgh had rentals of £45 or less. "Of these, 77,727 (64.6%) were tenement homes --- Many of these provided spacious, comfortable homes --- but often the conditions were most unsatisfactory. --- 31,021 were one-apartment 'single-ends' or two-apartment 'room-and-kitchen' type dwellings. At the same time 1,558 houses had three or more families in occupation, and in extreme cases eight or nine families were found in one dwelling." ¹

By 1951, the average of 93 persons per 100 rooms represented a substantial improvement on the 1931 figure of 111 persons per 100 rooms. However, higher ratios occurred in some districts. "In Craigmillar ward there were 155 persons per 100 rooms, against Morningside's 58. --- in Holyrood, St. Giles and Central Leith the proportion (of people living more than two to a room) was over a fifth." ²

1. Keir, D. op. cit. p. 377.

2. ibid. p. 378.

Most of these lowly assessed Grade V houses were situated in the old central districts. However, other streets had begun to decline rapidly, notably Jamaica Street (see Plan 4) in the Northern Extension to the New Town. From the outset this had been the site of small flats but it had been one of the few streets in the New Town areas to suffer gross overcrowding and degeneration to slum conditions. Indeed, since 1962 the houses in Jamaica Street have been demolished.

Some flats in the good quality tenement districts also fell within the Grade V assessment range. However, most of these were valued at between £24 and £44.

Because of the considerable improvement in housing standards between 1914 and 1962 there was a marked gulf between the remnants of the early nineteenth century tenement developments and some of the late nineteenth century projects. It has been suggested that in 1855 and 1914, the residents of Grade V districts could be classified in two categories; the "poor" and the "respectable" working class. This was especially true in 1962. Whereas Grade V flats at Murieston or Balcarres Street were selling for between £800 and £1,400, the small one and two room dwellings in the old tenement properties barely fetched £500 and those likely to be condemned in the near future were sold for less than £200 (for example see Plan 5).

A few streets of Grade V tenements in predominantly higher value areas were almost always occupied by this 'respectable' working class group. Indeed, many of these flats were merely smaller elements in a

Grade IV setting.

The visual differences between the different areas was striking. The properties in higher value Grade V areas being clean, tidy and well maintained whereas those at Dundiedykes, for example, reflected the squalid living conditions of "single-ends" and "room-and-kitchen" districts. *

Portobello still formed a largely independent urban unit in terms of Grade V houses. It has never experienced a massive influx of industrial population and only the streets near the Figgate Burn contained particularly small houses.

The incorporation of several villages had added a new element to the Grade V pattern between 1914 and 1962. In some cases, notably the miners' houses at Newcraighall, these formed the total urban nucleus and remained distinct and apart from the rest of the city. But in most instances, the village had been engulfed in the growth of Edinburgh and was surrounded by houses built in the post 1920 period. At agricultural settlements such as Corstorphine, Davidson's Mains, Colinton and Duddingston, these small Grade V dwellings provided a quaint nucleus in fashionable suburban districts, strengthening the 'urbs in rure'³ character of the areas.

Thus, the 1962 pattern of Grade V houses bore considerable resemblance to that of 1914 apart from minor peripheral additions and a considerable thinning in the

3. Pahl, R. "Urbs in Rure: The Metropolitan Fringe in Hertfordshire" 1965.

* This comparison is shown by Photographs 38 and 32 or 34 and 37.

older districts - a thinning which had reduced the number of Grade V houses by more than 12,000 in the intervening period.

Figure 36 shows the distribution of local authority houses in 1962. This pattern began to develop towards the end of the nineteenth century with the erection of blocks at Tron Square, High School Yards and Portsburgh Square in the Old Town area of Edinburgh. However, major schemes were commenced in the 1920's when the Government recognised the problem of providing better quality working class houses for renting, and decided to attempt to solve this difficulty by making local authorities responsible for the provision of new houses for this sector of housing demand. At first, Edinburgh built pleasant open developments including flatted villas ^{#1} but, by the 1930's, three and four storey tenement blocks ^{#2} became the characteristic type at Craigmillar, for example and West Pilton. After the immediate post 1945 expediency of temporary housing, a greatly enlarged Council house programme produced several massive estates between 1950 and 1962. As a result many suburban districts were invaded by Council houses notably in the south east on Gilmerton ridge and in the south at Oxcgangs, and in the north west with the enlargement of the West Pilton-Muirhouse complex.

By the 1950's Council houses were no longer solely built for working class tenants and today they contain a mixture of census occupational Grades III, IV and V and even some householders in Grade II. Moreover,

#1 See Photograph 52.

#2 See Photograph 53.

the recent developments have incorporated a wider range of house type and a greater variety of house size than occurred in areas constructed between 1920-39. Multi-storey blocks feature in the pattern at Gracemount, Firrhill, Clermiston* and Muirhouse.

A third component involved a few streets of Council houses built between 1920 and 1935 replacing tenements destroyed by bombing in the First World War and clearance schemes in the inter-war period.

There is little doubt that different local authority schemes had different status. Some, notably Craigmillar and West Pilton, were notorious districts and the council had great difficulty letting houses in these areas. Others, for example, Hutchison, were considered attractive and were generally neat and well-kept with trim gardens, clean stairs and unbroken windows. The Assessors Department had, in fact, compiled a ranking of the local authority districts but were unwilling to disclose precise information. Exchange applications offered one indirect indicator but many of the new estates were on the extreme margins of the city and this distance factor stimulated many to seek exchanges to other estates. Moreover, between 1950 and 1962 a considerable number of the tenants in these estates had come from slum clearance districts in the Old Town and in central Leith. Some of these families, accustomed to living in the heart of the settlement, were unhappy in suburban estates.

In a study by the author of the Firrhill estate in 1961, many council tenants identified themselves as "different" and "better" than slum clearance families living nearby. Indeed, quite strong feeling existed

* See Photograph 54.

as some families clearly saw themselves as a "respectable" group whilst the slum clearance families were considered to be of the lowest status. However, these status shadings had little relationship to assessment differences for council houses are allocated on the basis of family size and hence form a different system from the private house sector based on rent-paying ability and consumer choice.

Figure 27 shows local authority houses as a percentage of all dwellings in the city wards in 1962. Pilton and Craigmillar wards were dominated by council houses whilst in Liberton, Sighthill and Craigmillar Wards, more than half the houses were local authority dwellings. Significantly, Corstorphine Ward had a very low percentage for a suburban district and even with the Clermiston Council scheme, Barnton was also predominantly a Ward of private houses.

Since Edinburgh had not indulged in large scale central demolition and replacement, all of the central wards had relatively low figures with the exception of Calton Ward (the Old Town) but here the abrupt decline in the total number of houses was a contributory factor.

The Scottish Special Housing Association was established in 1930. In Edinburgh, and other Scottish cities, this body has assisted the local authority by building schemes of houses for rent. In Edinburgh, these have invariably been juxtaposed to Council estates. Between 1936 and 1939 two small developments occurred at

Lochend and Boswall and in the post 1945 period parts of the Niddrie, Oxbgangs and Pilton schemes have included S.S.H.A. houses. These houses have been treated as equivalent to local authority dwellings because inadequate information was available about the exact manner of house allocation and the status of the tenants. However, informal discussions with Council and S.S.H.A. housing officials indicated that the latter body imposed more stringent letting conditions and charged slightly higher rents, suggesting that the S.S.H.A. schemes probably had a higher status than most Council estates. Unfortunately, the information was imprecise and the S.S.H.A. schemes may well have varied in status in a similar fashion to that reported for local authority estates.

CHAPTER 4.

PART 4.

The Status Areas of Edinburgh in 1962.

In 1962 the residential structure presented an intricate mosaic of subregions as Figure 37 illustrates. However, several large tracts of similar assessment existed whilst nine areas had no recognisable status, largely due to the presence of non-residential land uses. In addition, a sixth grade, local authority houses, provided a variation from Figures 12 and 21.

Of the unclassified areas, number IX, Duddingston village had retained the unique character and structure which it had displayed in 1914 pattern. In the central area of the city the New Town was virtually devoid of houses apart from the small tenement flats in Rose Street. Commercial land uses had now invaded much of the Western and Northern Extensions, the Moray development and the Broughton area, complicating the residential classification of all of these districts. In area I, for example, many of the large terraced houses of the 1914 period were now hotels whilst those still in private residential use had been subdivided into flats. Even the Moray development, area III, now consisted of flatted residences. However, in this case the area had retained a predominantly residential function and was still a fashionable locale. By contrast, area IV, the Northern Extension, had experienced greater alteration in its residential status. In 1962, this district contained almost twice as many flats in assessment Grade IV than in

Grade II. However, Heriot Row and, to a lesser extent, Great King Street, were still important, albeit small, sites of Grade I residences whilst Jamaica Street and Cumberland Street were Grade V locations. The differences between these assessment extremes is illustrated by House Plans I and 4, particularly since the latter shows seven Grade V houses.

In the Western Extension, Drumsheugh Gardens and Rothesay Terrace, (area II), were dominated by institutions, hotels, nursing homes and offices in a similar manner to the pre-1855 district, area VII. To the south of these areas, the Torphichen Street district, VIII, which had never been a particularly fashionable residential location had also been invaded by offices, most of the few remaining houses being in assessment Grades IV and V. Similarly, area V, Broughton, was now an office, hotel and business district apart from a few tenement residences in Broughton Street. Finally, the small speculation at East Claremont Street and Claremont Crescent had also attracted clubs and hotels and now only contained a few residual residential elements with no clear status pattern.

Thus, apart from a few large flatted houses in Moray Place, Heriot Row and some of the crescents in the Western Extension, almost all the Grade I residences in 1962 were situated in what in 1914 had been suburban districts. Moreover, subdivision had affected the terraced streets at Learmonth so that the area now embraced a mixture of dwellings in assessment Grade I, II and III.

Murrayfield, Ravelston and Craigleith formed one zone of Grade I dwellings, principally of twentieth century origin.

Merchiston, Grange and Newington constituted another zone, with another large cluster on the slopes of Braid. Similarly, the villa districts at Inverleith and Trinity were Grade I nuclei. However, with the absorption of the overwhelmingly dominant 1914 Grade I focus by non-residential land uses, substantial spatial changes were inevitable. The larger Victorian and Edwardian villas became the most substantial residences in the existing house stock and experienced increased status as the central areas increasingly became converted to areas of non residential land uses. In addition, the incorporation in 1920 of suburban districts such as Corstorphine, Barnton and Colinton added other late Victorian villa clusters which were subsequently enlarged into important Grade I districts by 1962. New areas were also developed in the twentieth century, for example, at Fairmilehead.

Thus the pattern was extremely complex, involving new elements of varied age, incorporated aspects, upgrading and also subdivided remnants of earlier structures as at Royal Terrace or Moray Place. Nevertheless, the pattern was by no means haphazard. The western locational bias of the Grade I districts had been continued with the developments at Ravelston, Barnton and, most recently at Cammo. The southern suburban components of the 1914 pattern remained at Merchiston, Grange, Braid and Newington but were now enlarged and had extensions at Glenlockhart, Colinton, Mortonhall, Fairmilehead and Liberton.

To the north, the villas at Inverleith and Trinity formed the nucleus of small nodes of Grade I residences whilst enclaves remained beside Leith Links and at the Promenade, Portobello. Almost all the Grade I districts were adjoined by Grade II and/or III areas as was the case in 1914. However, speculative development between 1920 and 1962 had also created several large independent tracts of Grade III residences, notably at Corstorphine, Blackhall and between Duddingston and Portobello.

In addition to the good quality tenement areas developed between 1880 and 1914, there were also large schemes of Grade IV flatted villas such as those at Carrick Anow.

The low status districts were still associated with industrial quarters and their distribution closely resembled that of 1914, with the addition of the villages of Colinton, Corstorphine, Gilmerton, Niddrie and Newcraighall.

The Grade VI, local authority, pattern introduced a completely new component into the status area structure producing distinct subregions. Even where these adjoined middle or high status residential districts, physical barriers such as a railway line or a stream often intervened.

Obviously, the emergence of local authority houses as a major element in the residential structure was one of the crucial features of the 1914 to 1962 period. However, several factors all played significant roles at particular periods. Thus, the massive boundary extension in 1920 simplified the process of suburban growth, since incorporated areas automatically received the various services provided by the local authority, including linkage with the transport

network. Secondly, the character of speculative development in the 1920's and 1930's and again in the late 1950's effectively produced status areas by constructing a small range of house types in relatively large estates. Thirdly, planning legislation in the post 1945 period restricted the freedom of residential growth and directly influenced its character. Whilst zoning largely recognised existing trends in terms of character of districts, a number of local authority schemes were permitted to alter the nature of suburban districts because of the pressing need to rehouse families from insanitary, congested old tenement districts. Equally, the Green Belt policy tended to constrict the residential growth in a manner similar to the Flodden Wall at an earlier period, encouraging infilling and more intensive use of available land and also creating an inflationary pressure on the price of building land and existing large good-condition dwellings.

Nevertheless, the association of Grade I, II and/or Grade III areas and of Grade III and IV areas was a distinct feature of the structure.

Portobello, in particular, still appeared as an almost separate component in the pattern, and some of the incorporated villages and even Leith still showed signs of their once independent structure.

A number of similarly assessed districts were separated by areas of green space as occurred in the 1914 pattern. Corstorphine Hill, for example, divided the Corstorphine and Barnton districts, whilst the northern park and playing field complex was still a feature of the

Inverleith district.

Thus between 1855 and 1962 considerable changes had affected the spatial pattern of residential areas. Few of the intensively developed 1855 residential districts had survived as major components in the 1962 pattern. However, the skeletal developments in the suburban areas at the middle of the nineteenth century were important features of the mid-twentieth century structure. Nevertheless, substantial tracts of the 1962 distribution had been created within the last four decades, much of the local authority housing occurring in the years between 1946 and 1962.

CHAPTER 5.

CONCLUSION.

PART 1.

The Status Areas of Edinburgh: 1855 to 1962.

The dynamic character of urban structure was illustrated by the changes which occurred in the status area pattern during this period. Massive urban growth, the introduction of important new residential components and variations in the factors and processes affecting the pattern of status areas all complicated the analysis of the changes. The period witnessed the gradual erosion of the social hegemony of the New Town districts and the emergence of the Victorian villa areas as the principal high status nodes.

In 1855, the structure in Edinburgh was a relatively simple one with a large tract of high status districts surrounding the New Town being bounded on the south and flanked on the east, north and west by low status areas. Suburban middle status areas occurred at Stockbridge, Inverleith, Morningside, Grange and Newington. In detail, however, the pattern was complex with small enclaves of higher value houses in the Grade V zone and some Grade V houses in the planned Georgian districts. Moreover, even at this juncture, different periods of development added an additional component to the complex pattern.

In Leith, the structure consisted of a compact low status urban node around the harbour area, and small clusters, ribbons and isolated pockets of more varied status to the west, east and south.

By 1914, the pattern had changed although many elements of the 1855 structure remained. The New Town was now primarily a commercial district and the high status focus had moved westwards to embrace much of the extended Western Extension, the Moray development and part of the Northern Extension. In addition, suburban components occurred at Murrayfield, Merchiston, Grange, Braid, Newington and Inverleith. These central and suburban foci were separated by several status areas of different rank; large areas of Grade III and IV houses had been developed in suburban locations between the central and suburban high status nodes. Moreover, the low status districts colonised extensive tracts at Dalry-Gorgie and Leith Walk, creating a massive low status zone which stretched from Slateford to Leith. In the seaport, intensification of development had completed the pattern at Trinity but this still presented a varied status structure, whilst the boundary extensions in the 1890's had incorporated Portobello, although it remained an isolated urban unit in the 1914 pattern.

By 1962 further growth and boundary extensions along with the invasion of most of the central Grade I districts of 1914, produced further structural changes. Moreover, the construction of local authority housing schemes and large homogeneous speculative developments added new status components. The suburban Grade I districts of 1914 now constituted an inner ring with peripheral extensions at Barnton, Colinton, Fairmilehead and Liberton.

In 1855 and 1914 occupational information provided an additional variable in the analysis of status areas. Professional occupations, notably law, were found to be highly related to the principal high status district. A similar relationship existed in 1914. On both occasions these occupations distinguished the central Grade I areas from the suburban sites. Moreover, in some streets in the New Town district which included a variety of house assessments, the presence of these occupations suggested that the houses were part of nearby high status high assessment areas.

In 1962, occupational data was not available. However, the City Assessor supplied confidential information on house sale prices which permitted an examination of the relationship between valuation and house price, two measures of residential status. A sample of this information is presented in Appendix 7. There was a positive correlation between the two sets of data although Grade I and Grade V houses had a wider range of sale prices than assessments. This was primarily a reflection of three features. Firstly, the valuation process only allotted negative value to location in that standard size assessments were reduced in areas of poor amenity or when houses were attached. As a result, some residences in particularly attractive situations were under-assessed. Secondly, the threat of demolition because of plans for redevelopment had made many of the old central tenement districts almost worthless in terms of selling price although their Gross Annual Valuation was unaffected. Thirdly, a number of houses undoubtedly fetched higher selling prices than their assessment would suggest.

In particular, the subdivision of large Victorian villas into two flatted dwellings created a situation where assessment was slightly reduced because of the attachment aspect but the size of rooms and general location made them extremely attractive dwellings. One example quoted in Appendix 7 involved a house in Blackford Road with a Gross Annual Valuation of £90 which was sold for £7,007. Similarly, at Inverleith Place, a house assessed at £128 was sold for £6,000. Moreover, several houses with assessments between £106 and £114 were exchanged for more than £5000 in 1962. Significantly, they included post 1920 dwellings as well as parts of Victorian and Edwardian villas. Thus, it would appear that in 1962 the Gross Annual Valuation provided a reasonably accurate measure of the desirability of residences but the emphasis upon size meant that the vital component, location, was undervalued. The Assessor's Department fully appreciated this point and had in fact computed an assessment location index using house sale information. However, this document was classified as confidential information.

The sample in Appendix 7 indicated that some districts had acquired particularly high residential status in 1962. Houses at Cammo, Barnton and Colinton, for example, were being sold for between £7,000 and £10,000. However, it must be noted that few houses in the very high Gross Annual Valuations featured in the sample. It was significant that the only house in the sample with an assessment in excess of £200, located in Wilton Road, Newington, also had by far the highest sale price of £15,110. The sale price information must be treated with caution, therefore, but it does suggest

that sites near areas of high status also experienced status appreciation in terms of the relationship of sale price to Gross Annual Values. However, apart from the limitations of the sample, peculiarities of house sale prices must also be remembered. For example, the transaction might include furnishings and fittings which were not indicated in the Register of Sasines and, therefore, could lead to a false impression of the value of the residence. Moreover, selling prices are not fixed by any principles such as house valuation but largely depend upon the attitudes and market knowledge of the seller and buyer.

CHAPTER 5.

PART 2.

Examination of the Factors and Processes Influencing the Development of Status Areas in Edinburgh.

Spacially distinct status areas emerged in the second half of the eighteenth century during the first major phase of suburban expansion. Prior to this period status clusters probably existed with the locations changing through time in response to factors such as the removal of the Court from the Castle to Holyrood and the intensification of urban development in the High Street vicinity. Thus, the evidence tends to confirm the opinion expressed by Taylor that status segregation develops at an early period with the erection of "bigger houses --- near the margins, where gardens and privacy are available."¹

However, status areas did not really develop until Edinburgh spread north on to Lang Dykes ridge and south towards Grange ridge. In the medieval period, the constricted site and rapid commercial growth had encouraged the development of an intricate residential structure which included vertical status zonation. After 1765 spatial growth had facilitated the development of larger areas but, nevertheless, complexity still remained a characteristic feature. In the planned Georgian districts, for example, the design created a complex status structure which was later accentuated by commercial invasion and the subdivision of residential properties.

1. Taylor, G. op. cit. p. 76.

Site factors also influenced the development pattern. The hill areas and deep valleys acted as barriers to growth. From its origin, ridge sites had proved an attractive residential location in Edinburgh. Thus, the Castle ridge, Lang Dykes ridge, Lauriston ridge and Grange ridge all featured prominently in the development pattern up to the end of the nineteenth century. However, care must be taken in allocating causative significance to this factor. Although the hill mass of Arthur's Seat constituted a substantial obstacle to eastward residential expansion, the area affected included tracts of developable land, for the whole site was a Royal Park. Similarly, the Meadows were a poorly-drained area but they would probably have been developed in the nineteenth century had they not been protected as common land. The decision of the Town Council, in the 1880's to purchase Braid Hills and use them as a recreational area, exaggerated the physical barrier of the hill mass and removed yet another area of potential residential land in an extremely attractive location. Equally, the development and subsequent survival of parks, playing fields and golf courses, curtailed residential growth in some districts, notably Inverleith, and in other cases, channelled development on to adjacent sites, causing a fragmentation of the pattern. Nevertheless, physically attractive sites were important stimulators of high status residential speculation and many Grade I areas occupied pleasant elevated sites, such as Ravelston, Grange, Braid, Moray, Learmonth and most New Town districts. Indeed, the only major Grade I cluster which did not satisfy this statement was the Western Extension of the New Town. It was,

however, the largest Grade I district in 1914, which suggests that site elevation was at most a secondary factor in determining the status of a residential development. However, the value of site must be recognised as an influential factor. The interviews quoted in Appendix 6 illustrate this point.

In the first half of the nineteenth century, differences in residential status were related to the overall design of the development. Thus, in the planned Georgian districts, a varied social structure was carefully integrated into the design, safeguarding the character of the larger, higher status residences by allotting minor positions in the plan to low status streets. By comparison, smaller planned projects such as the Raeburn scheme at Stockbridge were unable to prevent low status residential development on adjacent sites to the north and east at least partly because of the absence of a general feuing design for the whole district. Areas of piecemeal speculation such as parts of St. Leonards and Bristo provided further examples of varied speculative assessment during the initial period of development which subsequently, when the major phase of development occurred, was left at variance with the general status of the district. However, this phenomenon represented a specific instance of a more widespread factor, namely the role of the land superior.

In the New Town areas, the Town Council acted as superiors and passed by-laws dictating features such as architectural style, building materials, plot size, and frontal ornamentation. Many middle and high status areas in

Edinburgh resulted from conditions in feuing agreements. Even in the 1960's, the Merchant Company of Edinburgh imposed stringent feuing conditions at Bonaly which had the effect of ensuring that the developer would build large, select residences (see Appendix 6, interview with A. Thain Ltd.). Moreover, the superior could control development by withholding his land either from specific types of speculation or for a period in the hope that land values would rise. One of the earliest working class housing improvement schemes at Pilrig encountered considerable difficulty in obtaining a feu because the principal superior in that district, George Heriot's Trust, were unwilling to allow that type of development on their land.

Improvements in transportation also influenced the pattern of status areas, encouraging the growth of new suburbs and precipitating status change in some district. The railway lines, sidings and goods yards tended to depress adjacent site values and favour tenement developments. Although studies of other cities have indicated that suburban railways played a major role in extending the residential pattern, the situation in Edinburgh was complex. Undoubtedly, this means of transportation was directly responsible for the emergence of villa clusters at Barnton, Corstorphine and Colinton and it added a commuter component to the varied functional structure of Portobello. However, not all of the stations on the suburban line had this catalytic effect. At Craiglockhart, for example, only a few houses were developed at Lockharton although the station probably also served the Polwarth district. In the case of Morningside and

Newington, urban development was already well advanced when the suburban line was constructed. Moreover, a further complicating factor in Edinburgh was the almost contemporaneous growth of the tramway system which was more flexible and frequent. Nevertheless, transport improvements clearly facilitated suburban growth and their continued progress has removed some natural spatial constraints. Moreover, the presence of ribbon elements in the status patterns in all of the period analyses emphasises the importance of transport routes as development sites.

Societal changes also affected the development of status areas. The definition of minimum housing standards necessitated redevelopment of old low status districts from an early period. Equally, the burden of taxation and the rapid increase in the cost of domestic servants, made the large terraced mansions of the central areas financially impossible in the second half of the twentieth century. Changes in housing taste had a part to play in influencing the pattern. A desire for semi-rural residential settings with detached houses set in gardens, sponsored a phase of space consuming villa districts from the middle of the nineteenth century onwards. At first, this was confined to middle and high status developments but in the 1920's it became an almost universal trait with the erection of blocks of flatted local authority houses. In the latter case, however, the prime motivating concern was the provision of more spacious residential accommodation and improved amenities. Admittedly one aspect involved situation in a more attractive environment but this stemmed from early strands of planning philosophy such as the ideas of Ebenezer Howard rather than representing conscious locational decisions

by the people housed in these schemes. By comparison, the private speculative schemes should represent a deliberate locational decision by their occupants who were free to choose between a number of residential sites. However, this was not entirely true. The scale of suburban speculation between 1920 and 1939 for instance made these areas into the principal source of middle status housing. Moreover large numbers became available at one time whereas the existing house stock obviously entered the sale market in a more spasmodic fashion. In addition, almost all the bungalow developers operated attractive instalment purchasing schemes which may have simplified the process of acquisition of these houses compared with dwellings of earlier origin. Even today, for example, building societies tend to offer more generous loan facilities for new houses. This bias is probably very important but it is also extremely difficult to test the hypothesis.

Moreover, the interviews with housebuilders clearly indicated that developers played a conscious part in creating status areas by their decisions to build particular house types. Small housebuilders such as J.B. Alexander Ltd. and Thos. Anderson clearly favoured small speculations within one district. By comparison, the larger companies acquired sites wherever and whenever the opportunity arose but market conditions are also a dynamic feature. In the 1930's, for example, land was readily available but at other periods speculators encountered difficulty obtaining sites. However, development also depended on a complex process of decisions. If we examine

one example of developmental decision-making, some of the complexities emerged. In the 1750's, the Town Council decided to sponsor an urban extension of the city. Two sites received serious consideration, the Lang Dykes ridge and the Ross Estate at Bristo. Both were within the superiority but outwith the royalty of Edinburgh. However, the Town Council could not agree to a price with the owner of Ross Estate and decided to favour development on Lang Dykes ridge. Their intention to extend the burgh royalty was opposed by Midlothian landowners and several years of delay ensued as the parties argued. Finally, the Town Council elected to proceed with the project by developing the North Bridge. However, the initial structure collapsed causing another delay in the development. In all, almost twenty years separated the initial formulation of the intention to expand and the erection of the first houses. This illustrates the various factors which can interrupt and delay a planned development in a relatively simple context with little direct competition. Given a multi-variate state with many possible sites and types of development, later speculators were confronted by a more complex theoretical series of decisions; theoretical, because many developers concentrated on particular sections of the house market thereby reducing the total potential sites. Indeed, the interviews with small housebuilding firms suggested that the whole process was less intricate.

However, the available house stock was changing and this, in turn, produced alterations in the pattern of status areas. The development of the large terraced mansions at Drumsheugh Gardens and Rothesay Terrace, for example, in the last quarter of the nineteenth century introduced a

new component in the uppermost section of the house valuation range, as did the good quality tenement schemes and the flatted villa areas at other points in the value scale. Moreover, the persistent invasion of central Grade I districts by the expanding commercial focus necessitated the development of new high status districts. This tended to involve both the upgrading of the largest remaining components of the earlier pattern and the construction of new areas. By 1962 this invasion was a widespread feature within the urban area of 1856. However with the exception of the major traffic arteries, there was little loss of residential status in the Victorian villa clusters as a result of this process. Residential subdivision had spread outwards to infiltrate the areas of Victorian villas by the middle of the twentieth century. This certainly reduced residential status measured by Gross Annual Valuation although the evidence of the house sale prices, such as the Blackford Road example, provided conflicting information.

As Jones points out, "status segregation will be the outcome of class consciousness ... carried ... to the stage where it has given rise to a deliberate desire to express status differences in a clearly recognisable, spatial manner."² Although the nature of this study did not allow positive investigation of this factor, the occupational data in 1855 and 1914 provided an indirect measure of this phenomenon. Moreover, whilst this desire

2. Jones, R. 1962. op. cit. p. 436.

is undoubtedly a fundamental causative factor, its satisfaction is largely achieved through the work of developers and land superiors. This is a two-way relationship of supply and demand in which it is impossible to weight the respective factors.

CHAPTER 5.

PART 3.

The Relationship of this Research to other Studies of the Spatial Pattern of Residential Areas.

The pattern of status areas in 1855, 1914 and 1962 was neither a simple series of concentric circles nor one of major sectors, such as those identified by Burgess and Hoyt respectively. However, the patterns contained elements of both models, combining arcs and wedges.

In the zonal concept, Burgess¹ identified five concentric rings in the urban structure of American cities. At the hub was the Central Business District, which was surrounded by the zone in transition, an area of residential deterioration. The third zone was that of Independent Workingmen's Homes. Burgess explained its location in terms of the desire of its occupants to live near but not too close to their work. "In Chicago, it is a housing area neither of tenements, apartments, nor of single dwellings; its boundaries have been roughly determined by the plotting of the two-flat dwelling, generally of frame construction."² Beyond this lay a zone of Better Residences in which "the great middle-class of native-born Americans live, small businessmen, professional people, clerks and salesmen. Once communities of single homes, they are becoming, in Chicago, apartment-house and residential-hotel areas."³ Finally, he recognised an encircling

1. Burgess, E.W. "The Growth of the City in R. Park The City 1925 pp.47-62
2. Schnore, L.F. "Comparative Urban Research on the Spatial Structure of Cities" in P. Hanser and L.F. Schnore "The Study of Urbanisation" 1965 p. 349.
3. *ibid* p. 350.

ring of the commuter-zone. Elements of this description fit the Edinburgh patterns if the dimension of concentricity is relaxed. Burgess suggested that growth resulted from the operation of the ecological processes of invasion and succession, originating from an expansion of the Central Business District.

In Edinburgh, growth of the commercial focus was undoubtedly one component which precipitated change in the urban structure but it is doubtful if this could be isolated as the critical factor. However, the successive invasion of high status districts did play a fundamental role in stimulating the development of new fashionable residential areas. They occupied a central position in the structural constructs which resulted from Hoyt's analysis of residential neighbourhoods in American cities. His detailed maps of rental grades such as that of Richmond⁴ in 1934 showed distinct but fragmented areas similar to those recognised in Edinburgh in Figures 12, 21 and 37. Moreover, he argued that on the pattern of residential rent areas in American cities "There are many possible patterns of the distribution of blocks graded by average rentals. The rental blocks might be scattered at random throughout the city without any plan. Or, on the other hand, all the highest rental blocks might be concentrated in one compact area."⁵ Hoyt added that "there is no geometric pattern that can be superimposed upon a city to determine the location of high and low rental areas.

4. Hoyt, H. op. cit. p. 35.

5. *ibid* p. 73.

Each urban centre has a pattern of rent areas that is to a certain extent unique. No two cities have high-rent areas of the same size or shape or in the same location with respect to the centre of the city"⁶. Hoyt recognised that local factors such as topographical variation, rate of urban growth, location of industry and transport routes and the movement of leaders of society would all produce different patterns of rental areas. However, he commented that "there is, nevertheless, a general pattern of rent areas that applies to all cities In every city (studied) there are one or more clusters of blocks in which the average rents paid for residences are the highest in the city. From these high-rent poles, there is a gradation downward on all sides, with successive rings of blocks of lower and lower average rent until the worst slum --- is reached."⁷ Hoyt then examined the pattern in thirty cities and concluded that the rent areas formed a pattern of sectors with the high rent areas acting as poles and a gradation of rentals occurring downward in all directions from these peaks. Moreover, the high, intermediate and low rent sectors were seen to occupy different areas although no specific set pattern was proposed. Rather, Hoyt defined the sector model in terms of the relative spatial relationships of the three areas.

The pattern of status areas in Edinburgh in 1855, 1914 and 1962 bore many points of resemblance with the sector model. For example there was a downward gradation from the high assessment areas in the 1914 pattern (see

6. *ibid* p. 73

7. *ibid* p. 73-74

Fig. 21). In general, high and low assessment areas were separated by intermediate assessment zones. However, the presence of independent urban components at Leith and Portobello clouded the pattern whilst topographic and developmental features also made the Edinburgh pattern appear more intricate than Hoyt's schematic sector diagrams. Much depends upon the degree of generalisation which is adopted. Consequently, it may be concluded that the pattern of status areas in 1855 and 1914 in Edinburgh and Leith basically resembled that suggested by Hoyt.

However, the fundamental interest involves the explanation of the patterns and the factors and processes which create, and alter, the residential structure.

In his "Seven Ages of Towns", Taylor⁸ constructed a tentative developmental model based upon a study of Toronto. The stages were primarily identified on the basis of residential characteristics, with residential status segregation playing an important role. Taylor stated, for example, that "The beginning of maturity is shown by a definite differentiation of the residences. The various types are displaced outward as the years move on, though naturally examples of the early houses survive in the expanding zones."⁹ Jones¹⁰ has aptly described this as 'a tantalising account of evolutionary urban morphology', for Taylor provided little evidence of factors and processes which would effect the natural development of distinct ages of settlements.

8. Taylor, G. op. cit. p. 76.

9. *ibid.* p. 76.

10. Jones, R. op. cit. p. 433.

Hoyt also constructed a predictive model of residential structure based upon the movement of high rent poles. In this he concluded that the direction and pattern of the growth of high rent areas would be governed by nine considerations. Continuity of the development trends, for example, would result from the tendency for growth to follow existing lines of travel from the established high rent location or move towards existing nuclei. Secondly, physically attractive sites such as high ground and lake, bay, river and ocean fronts, would act as magnets pulling growth in their direction. However, the growth sector would favour the direction of free, open land and move away from 'dead end' sections limited by natural or artificial barriers to expansion. He also stressed the role of the houses of the leaders of the community which would pull the growth in their direction, quoting the examples of the homes of the Astors and Vanderbilts in New York. The expansion of the commercial centre, particularly the office quarter, would pull the high rent residential neighbourhoods in the same general direction. Moreover, fast transport routes would positively affect the growth of these high rent areas. Finally, he emphasised the consistency of the trends, stating that "the growth of high rent neighbourhoods continues in the same direction for a long period of time."¹¹ However, more intensive redevelopment of central sites by luxury apartments could create an exception to the general outward movement. Hoyt also recognised that real estate promoters might bend the direction of residential growth

11. Hoyt, H. op. cit. p. 118.

but considered it almost impossible for them to reverse the natural trend. Jones has criticised Hoyt's scheme as being "largely idealistic and descriptive, and like the concentric theory it has a deterministic-mechanistic approach implicit in it."¹²

Certainly the analysis of factors influencing the development of status areas in Edinburgh suggests that some of Hoyt's processes represent rationalisations of a complexity of factors. In particular, the inevitability of the natural growth leads to an underestimation of the role of the developer. Clearly, Hoyt was arguing from the standpoint that land values would influence the nature of developments and these values would be influenced by the trend. Thus land beyond a high rent sector would increase in value, necessitating a high status development to justify the expense of land purchase and establishing a self-perpetuating growth direction. Whilst this is theoretically true it oversimplifies the real situation. The growth of the high rent areas will tend to occur in phases rather than as continual process, as Hoyt realised. As a result, during the intervening period the growth sector can be invaded by residences or other land uses. Moreover, unless there is a shortage of building land, prices would not escalate to such a degree that more intensive middle grade residential schemes could not produce the same return for the landowner and developer. More significantly, in Edinburgh, at least, the landowner played a positive role in influencing the pattern through feuing regulations. Similarly, the housebuilder

12. Jones, E. op. cit. p. 271.

by erecting particular house types at certain locations, helped to mould the status pattern.

Moreover, Hoyt tends to neglect the role of low and intermediate value districts reducing them to pawns in creation of the residential pattern. Whilst in terms of economic land use theory such areas have less rent paying ability and, consequently, are bound by closer parameters of locational freedom, they are, nevertheless, vital components in the total structure and their location is not entirely explicable in terms of negative factors. Indeed, the middle value areas were an important peripheral growth component in the patterns of 1855 and 1914 in Edinburgh suggesting that initial suburban growth may involve a tentative status evaluation of a district which, subsequently, may be confirmed and even upgraded.

Firey,¹³ has stressed the need to place the human decision-making component at the centre of explanations of city structure. In particular, he feels that cultural considerations must be incorporated into ecological theory. In his study of Belfast, Jones¹⁴ concluded that the non-rational social values described by Firey were central to any explanation of the pattern of the settlement, rather than the models and constructs of concentric-circles and sectors.

Studies of residential structure in different cultural settings have also revealed points of similarity and divergence with the Concentric Circle and Sector models.

13. Firey, W. Land Use in Central Boston 1947 p. 325

14. Jones, E. op. cit. p. 274.

Hansen,¹⁵ for example, in a study of Merida, describes the traditional spatial structure which existed until the beginning of this century, where the Spanish residents inhabited the central area and the Indians, the lower status group, lived at the periphery. However, the pattern had then changed and resembled that of North American cities "the centre is characteristically a business district rather than a residential district of the aristocracy --- the wealthy occupy fashionable suburbs and there are certain streets to which the middle class drifts."¹⁶ Other studies of Latin American cities have also identified the replacement of a traditional structure by one similar to that embodied in the concentric circle model.¹⁷ Mabogunje¹⁸ has described the residential structure of Ibadan in Nigeria and McGee has studied the structure of a number of South-East Asian cities. In every case, segregation occurred although this included ethnic components as well as those derived from socio-economic status. The explanation of these areas, however, has tended to be phrased in classical ecological terminology. As a result, the development factors and processes in these examples, are poorly documented.

15. Hansen, A.T. "The Ecology of a Latin American City." in E.B. Reuter. Ed. *Race and Culture Contacts*. 1934

16. *ibid* p. 141

17. Schnore, L.F. *op. cit.* p. 347-389

18. Mabogunje, A.L. *Urbanisation in Nigeria*. 1968. pp. 224-233.

Many recent studies of the spatial structure of residential areas have used Census statistics¹⁹ and social areas have been defined on the basis of multi-variate correlations. These studies contribute to our understanding of the social geography of cities but form a different category from status area studies. Indeed, Johnson questions the value of Census-based studies. "At the present stage of geographical work, it is doubtful if an important intellectual stride has in fact been taken. The data most commonly used is the socially incomplete collection made in census returns, and there is no assurance that the most important variables have been included in these analyses. Although it is now possible to map the patterns of human ecology within individual cities in much greater detail than was possible before, it is by no means certain that these inductive methods will produce better generalisations about the social pattern within cities; nor is there any clear sign that they are revealing much about the processes which produce the patterns revealed."²⁰

Certainly the injection of a developmental dimension into these studies presents many difficulties. However, in the present context the important consideration is that the areas defined by these means represented a different, though doubtless related, typology to those derived by measures of house assessment and occupational

19. See, for example: Gittus, E. "An Experiment in the Definition of Urban Sub-Areas" *Proc. of Bartlett Soc.* 1964/65. Bell, W. "The Social Areas of the San Francisco Bay Region". *Amer. Soc. Rev.* Vol. 18. 1953. pp.39-47. McElrath, D.C. "The Social Areas of Rome: A Comparative Analysis". *Amer. Soc. Rev.* Vol. 27 1962 pp. 376-391.
20. Johnson, J.H. "The Diversity of Urban Geography" in R.U. Cooke and J.H. Johnson *Trends in Geography* 1969 p. 189-190

status and/or sale prices. The terms social and status areas summarise these differences.

Geographical studies of status areas encounter difficulty in introducing the individual component into the analysis. This is especially true of development studies. Chapman,²¹ Warner²² and Hoyt²³ have all illustrated that people perceive status areas and this field is now becoming fashionable in geographical research. The value of such studies, however, really lies in the identification of ranking criteria used by the persons interviewed, for this could provide valuable additional information which might illuminate the process of site selection. However, useful as contemporary studies of this topic are, the study of the development of status areas only derives peripheral benefit since assumptions would have to be made about the longevity of factors and their appropriateness at earlier periods.

This study of Edinburgh has attempted to investigate the detailed growth of status areas and the factors and processes acting upon the pattern. General conclusions based upon one example must inevitably be tentative and limited. Nevertheless, a number of points can be made. Firstly, distinct status areas were identifiable from 1765 onwards. Secondly, a wide range of factors influenced the pattern. However, the structure was largely that of sectors in a fashion similar to that outlined by Hoyt, although this does not mean that the growth explanation proposed by Hoyt was operative. Many avenues of further research have emerged

21. Chapman, D. The Home and Social Status. 1955.

22. Warner, L. and Lunt, P.S. The Social Life of a Modern Community 1942.

23. Hoyt, H. op. cit. p. 114.

during the study. For example, it would be interesting to trace the specific movement of occupants of high rent areas in an attempt to investigate and test the implied changes revealed by the assessment patterns. For certain occupations, such as lawyers and doctors, this might be possible by reference to professional records. Equally, the examination of the relationship between contemporary status areas based upon assessment and those derived from a perception study would add a further dimension to the study. However, as Robson has observed, the greatest need is for more detailed developmental studies preferably in a range of cultural, economic, and physical settings to introduce a more comprehensive variety of factors and variables.

APPENDIX IA.

Frequency Distribution of Residential Yearly Rentals:
Edinburgh 1855.

Y.R.	Number of Houses		Y.R.	Number of Houses.	
	Owner- Occupied	Total.		Owner- Occupied	Total.
£4 & under	45	12,096	£38	21	98
5	90	3043	39	-	8
6	55	1934	40	82	260
7	54	1451	41	-	3
8	63	1148	42	14	85
9	52	736	43	8	32
10	78	697	44	3	24
11	37	403	45	52	207
12	54	532	46	-	18
13	31	329	47	-	10
14	40	363	48	9	44
15	57	411	50	79	217
16	36	364	52	-	9
17	34	236	53	7	33
18	52	368	54	-	5
19	44	237	55	48	123
20	87	427	56	-	5
21	7	102	57	-	5
22	40	258	58	3	12
23	13	110	60	76	174
24	41	228	61	-	1
25	60	294	62	1	5
26	20	153	63	16	39
27	23	92	64	1	3
28	39	201	65	45	103
29	8	28	66	-	6
30	104	379	68	1	13
31	2	18	70	97	179
32	37	152	71	-	1
33	24	76	72	-	6
34	3	44	73	6	11
35	74	268	74	1	2
36	11	90	75	67	135
37	4	22	76	-	3

APPENDIX IA
(contd..)

Y.R.	Number of Houses		Y.R.	Number of Houses.	
	Owner-occupied	Total		Owner-Occupied	Total.
£77	1	3	£132	1	1
78	-	3	133	2	2
80	80	160	135	21	25
82	1	2	136	3	4
83	5	9	138	2	2
84	1	3	140	21	32
85	33	89	142	-	1
86	-	2	145	3	4
87	-	1	150	29	38
88	1	3	155	12	14
90	79	126	156	1	2
92	-	1	158	1	1
94	-	1	160	5	7
95	27	61	165	4	4
96	-	1	170	6	8
98	1	2	176	1	1
100	110	60	180	-	1
103	-	2	185	-	1
105	34	59	190	1	1
108	-	1	200	1	2
110	60	33	203	-	1
111	-	2	220	1	1
113	4	5			
114	-	1			
115	14	23			
116	-	1			
120	62	106			
122	-	1			
123	-	2			
125	24	32			
126	1	2			
127	-	1			
130	14	28			

APPENDIX IB

Frequency Distribution of Residential Yearly Rentals:
Leith 1856.

Y.R.	Number of Houses		Y.R.	Number of Houses.	
	Owner- Occupied	Total		Owner- Occupied	Total
£3 & under	21	2135	£36	-	5
4	12	949	37	-	3
5	33	784	38	3	9
6	12	372	40	17	38
7	12	243	41	0	3
8	13	209	42	-	2
9	15	138	43	-	5
10	11	183	45	16	26
11	4	66	47	-	1
12	15	118	48	4	7
13	8	61	50	26	41
14	16	109	52	-	1
15	8	76	53	-	2
16	3	62	55	9	16
17	5	34	56	-	1
18	6	64	58	-	1
19	5	37	60	13	27
20	15	71	63	4	5
21	1	15	65	1	6
22	5	28	70	5	13
23	1	14	75	1	3
24	2	28	78	1	1
25	9	39	80	2	3
26	2	15	90	2	4
27	1	5	93	-	1
28	2	13	100	1	4
29	-	3	102	-	1
30	17	51	110	-	1
31	1	1	115	-	1
32	2	10	120	4	1
33	-	4	130	-	1
34	-	4	140	1	2
35	12	39	150	1	1
			160	-	1
			170	1	1

APPENDIX IC.Intra-Grade Rental Structure: Edinburgh 1855.

	<u>Yearly Rental</u>	<u>No. of Houses</u>	<u>% Owner-Occupied</u>	<u>% of grade with these values.</u>
G	£151-220	44	75.0	4.4
R	150-141	43	74.4	4.4
A	140-131	66	75.8	6.7
D	130-121	66	58.8	6.7
E	120-111	138	58.0	14.2
I	110-101	155	60.6	15.8
	100-91	236	60.0	24.0
	90-81	<u>235</u> 983	51.1	23.8
<hr/>				
G	£80-76	169	47.9	12.7
R	75-71	155	47.4	11.7
A	70-66	198	49.5	14.9
D	65-61	151	41.7	11.4
E	60-56	196	40.3	14.8
II	55-51	170	32.4	12.8
	50-46	<u>289</u> 1328	31.5	21.7
<hr/>				
G	45-41	351	22.1	10.8
R	40-36	478	28.9	14.8
A	35-31	558	25.1	17.3
D	30-26	853	22.7	26.4
E	25-21	<u>992</u> 3232	16.2	30.7
III				

APPENDIX IC

(contd..)

	<u>Yearly Rental</u>	<u>No. of Houses</u>	<u>% Owner-Occupied</u>	<u>% of grade with these values.</u>
G	£20	427	20.6	9.8
R	19	237	18.6	5.4
A	18	368	14.1	8.4
D	17	236	14.4	5.4
E	16	364	9.9	8.3
	15	411	13.9	9.4
IV	14	363	11.0	8.3
	13	329	9.4	7.6
	12	532	10.2	12.2
	11	403	9.2	9.2
	10	697	11.2	16.0
		<u>4367</u>		
<hr/>				
G	£9	736	7.1	3.6
R	8	1148	5.4	5.6
A	7	1451	3.7	7.1
D	6	1934	2.8	9.5
E	5	3043	3.0	14.9
	£4 and			
V	under	12,096	0.4	59.3
		<u>20,408</u>		

APPENDIX ID.Intra-Grade Rental Structure: Leith 1856.

	<u>Yearly Rental</u>	<u>No. of Houses</u>	<u>% Owner Occupied</u>	<u>% of Grade with these values.</u>
G	£170-101	10	4.0	52.6
R	100-91	5	20.0	26.3
A	90-81	4	50.0	21.1
D		<hr/> 19		
E				
I				
G	80-76	4	75.0	3.1
	75-71	3	33.3	2.4
R	70-66	13	38.5	10.2
A	65-61	11	45.5	8.6
D	60-56	29	44.8	22.7
E	55-51	19	47.4	14.8
	50-46	49	61.2	38.2
II		<hr/> 128		
G	45-41	36	44.4	10.0
R	40-36	55	36.4	15.3
A	35-31	58	25.9	16.1
D	30-26	87	25.3	24.2
E	25-21	124	14.5	34.4
III		<hr/> 360		
G	20	71	21.1	8.1
R	19	37	13.5	4.2
A	18	64	9.4	7.3
D	17	34	14.7	3.9
E	16	62	4.8	7.0
	15	76	10.5	8.6
IV	14	109	14.7	12.4
	13	61	13.1	6.9
	12	118	12.7	13.4
	11	66	6.1	7.5
	10	183	6.0	20.8
		<hr/> 881		

APPENDIX ID

(Contd..)

	<u>Yearly Rental</u>	<u>No. of Houses</u>	<u>% Owner Occupied</u>	<u>% Grade with these values</u>
G	9	138	11.0	2.9
R	8	209	6.2	4.3
A	7	243	4.9	5.0
D	6	372	3.2	7.7
E	5	784	4.2	16.2
	4	949	1.3	19.7
V	3 and under	2135	1.0	44.2
		<hr/> 4830		

APPENDIX 2A

FREQUENCY DISTRIBUTION OF RESIDENTIAL ANNUAL ASSESSMENTS:
EDINBURGH 1914.

A.V.	Number of Houses		A.V.	Number of Houses.	
	Owner- Occupied	Total		Owner- Occupied	Total
£2	-	16	£34	110	343
3	1	158	35	214	614
4	1	1061	36	146	443
5	5	3372	37	47	171
6	4	2693	38	131	410
7	4	3089	39	51	117
8	16	4244	40	201	682
9	38	4687	41	11	26
10	25	4925	42	72	244
11	32	3762	43	71	158
12	94	4192	44	13	46
13	129	2901	45	236	598
14	203	2863	46	27	81
15	199	2763	47	22	58
16	237	2552	48	77	180
17	235	1980	49	6	15
18	325	2363	50	216	572
19	389	2160	51	4	10
20	360	1925	52	24	74
21	258	1126	53	52	111
22	248	1303	54	8	16
23	200	980	55	249	501
24	263	1234	56	10	29
25	266	1081	57	13	31
26	257	1046	58	33	63
27	198	701	59	3	15
28	290	1124	60	263	575
29	135	405	61	-	2
30	336	1234	62	14	23
31	105	279	63	28	52
32	219	665	64	1	1
33	102	339	65	177	396

APPENDIX 2A
(contd..)

A.V.	Number of Houses		A.V.	Number of Houses.	
	Owner Occupied	Total		Owner Occupied	Total
£66	1	5	£101	1	1
67	5	11	102	2	3
68	36	50	103	4	8
69	1	4	104	0	2
70	178	363	105	76	106
71	1	2	106	0	1
72	8	21	108	5	5
73	16	28	109	0	1
74	1	1	110	78	140
75	146	325	111	0	1
76	5	9	112	1	1
77	11	17	113	4	4
78	10	25	115	44	73
79	4	6	116	1	1
80	154	316	117	-	2
81	1	1	118	-	1
82	3	5	120	79	127
83	5	9	121	1	1
85	110	242	123	2	3
86	0	2	124	2	2
87	1	4	125	35	64
88	28	34	127	1	1
89	0	1	128	2	4
90	95	216	130	46	90
91	1	1	131	1	1
92	-	2	133	2	4
93	1	2	134	0	4
94	2	2	135	43	61
95	67	115	136	0	1
96	-	3	137	2	3
97	-	1	138	3	3
98	-	2	140	59	116
100	93	203	142	1	2
			143	3	3

APPENDIX 2A

(contd...)

A.V.	Number of Houses		A.V.	Number of Houses.	
	Owner-occupied	Total		Owner-occupied	Total
£145	26	39	£220	19	29
150	68	132	225	16	21
153	4	4	230	8	10
155	25	35	235	2	7
156	1	3	240	6	6
157	1	1	241	1	1
158	-	1	245	4	4
160	54	82	250	12	15
162	-	1	255	1	1
163	-	1	260	4	4
165	10	18	265	2	3
167	-	1	270	6	6
168	1	1	275	2	2
170	29	45	280	1	2
173	3	3	284	1	1
175	17	30	285	2	3
177	1	1	290	3	3
180	22	40	295	1	1
182	0	2	300	3	4
183	1	1	315	1	1
185	8	11	320	1	2
190	24	35	325	1	2
193	1	1	350	0	1
195	11	13	400	1	1
198	0	1	402	1	1
200	23	43	410	0	1
202	-	1	450	0	1
205	9	11			
210	19	30			
212	-	1			
214	-	1			
215	5	8			
216	1	1			
218	0	1			

APPENDIX 2 B.FREQUENCY DISTRIBUTION OF RESIDENTIAL ANNUAL VALUATIONS:LEITH 1914.

Annual Valuation	Number of Houses		Annual Valuation	Number of Houses	
	Owner/ Occupied	Total		Owner/ Occupied	Total
£2	-	2	£33	38	61
3	-	42	34	8	21
4	9	256	35	20	58
5	20	554	36	19	35
6	35	1037	37	12	19
7	28	1132	38	39	70
8	19	1518	39	13	20
9	24	2568	40	70	142
10	23	1366	41	2	4
11	28	1237	42	18	40
12	53	1382	43	12	19
13	36	946	44	6	8
14	50	814	45	48	93
15	39	629	46	5	12
16	51	543	47	5	9
17	63	603	48	20	31
18	123	560	49	2	2
19	41	310	50	46	89
20	43	366	51	1	1
21	20	118	52	13	16
22	83	196	53	7	11
23	22	101	54	3	4
24	28	90	55	43	72
25	22	111	56	1	1
26	46	121	57	1	1
27	21	78	58	6	12
28	61	146	59	1	1
29	26	57	60	30	54
30	55	160	61	2	2
31	19	34	62	-	1
32	59	103	63	2	7

APPENDIX 2 B.

(contd....)

Annual Valuation	Number of Houses	
	Owner/ Occupied	Total.
£65	22	42
67	5	5
68	1	3
70	18	29
71	-	1
72	1	1
73	1	2
75	8	14
78	2	2
80	10	17
82	2	2
84	-	1
85	3	5
88	1	2
90	4	8
92	-	1
93	1	1
95	3	4
100	2	6
105	1	2
110	3	4
112	1	1
115	1	1
125	1	1
130	3	3
140	-	2
160	1	1
170	1	1
180	1	1
202	-	1
230	1	1

APPENDIX 3A.

FREQUENCY DISTRIBUTION OF RESIDENTIAL GROSS ANNUAL VALUES
EDINBURGH. 1962. (excluding local authority houses)

G.A.V.	Number of Houses		G.A.V.	Number of Houses	
	Owner Occupied	Total.		Owner Occupied	Total.
£3	-	9	£34	334	913
4	1	3	35	606	1195
5	4	25	36	635	1337
6	5	59	37	573	1076
7	7	127	38	1069	1773
8	7	67	39	1159	1891
9	4	131	40	1453	2366
10	75	646	41	808	1159
11	141	1099	42	1019	1489
12	54	311	43	565	833
13	41	388	44	336	695
14	86	547	45	470	918
15	96	412	46	556	870
16	98	597	47	351	595
17	195	1467	48	797	1259
18	333	1886	49	432	758
19	256	1310	50	1343	3212
20	423	1834	51	1097	2014
21	1492	5150	52	696	997
22	1157	3686	53	834	1310
23	528	2352	54	1308	1646
24	899	3535	55	619	1300
25	1057	3921	56	1200	1705
26	734	1935	57	341	995
27	1046	2744	58	1136	1330
28	1227	2832	59	626	790
29	679	1463	60	943	1228
30	593	1375	61	491	1323
31	566	1481	62	829	1035
32	418	959	63	620	689
33	442	961	64	845	1044

APPENDIX 3A

(contd...)

G.A.V.	Number of Houses Owner Occupied	Houses Total	G.A.V.	Number of Houses Owner Occupied	Houses Total.
£65	700	839	£99	6	7
66	512	594	100	695	765
67	610	761	101	9	10
68	775	890	102	509	574
69	825	954	103	8	8
70	1020	1207	104	580	655
71	908	1012	105	39	45
72	811	918	106	540	596
73	839	929	107	4	4
74	901	1034	108	421	479
75	575	661	109	6	6
76	853	946	110	526	592
77	803	872	111	3	3
78	757	868	112	460	520
79	493	546	113	4	4
80	1130	1327	114	355	400
81	64	66	115	47	52
82	1162	1287	116	312	402
83	60	63	117	2	2
84	1222	1313	118	316	371
85	139	155	119	4	4
86	1051	1139	120	437	495
87	71	81	121	3	3
88	1134	1239	122	209	231
89	52	55	123	1	1
90	1053	1174	124	187	217
91	13	26	125	120	136
92	902	996	126	188	210
93	31	34	127	3	3
94	113	854	128	166	198
95	63	69	129	2	2
96	845	932	130	303	311
97	11	12	132	147	165
98	683	742	133	1	2

APPENDIX 3A.

(contd.....)

G.A.V.	Number of Houses Owner Occupied	Houses Total	G.A.V.	Number of Houses Owner Occupied	Houses Total.
£134	124	147	£188	1	1
135	93	108	190	75	85
136	119	139	192	1	1
137	2	2	194	1	1
138	120	144	195	42	49
139	3	3	200	31	42
140	219	253	205	20	21
142	80	90	210	23	28
143	3	3	215	18	22
144	88	93	216	-	1
145	91	113	220	15	25
146	91	101	225	7	9
147	-	1	227	1	1
148	58	71	230	10	13
150	192	228	235	6	7
152	8	10	240	13	15
154	5	5	245	11	13
155	183	216	250	3	4
156	7	9	255	2	3
158	11	12	260	7	9
160	173	198	265	3	4
162	1	2	270	1	2
164	1	2	275	3	5
165	124	145	280	3	3
166	1	1	285	1	1
168	4	5	290	4	5
170	106	124	295	-	1
172	3	3	315	1	3
173	1	1	335	1	1
174	1	1	350	2	2
175	89	105	355	1	2
176	2	2	375	1	1
177	2	2	385	1	1
178	3	3	415	1	1
179	1	1	450	1	2
180	81	88			
182	1	1			
185	65	70			

APPENDIX 3B.FREQUENCY DISTRIBUTION OF GROSS ANNUAL VALUES OF LOCAL
AUTHORITY HOUSES: EDINBURGH 1962.

G.A.V.	No. of Houses	G.A.V.	No. of Houses	G.A.V.	No. of Houses
£7	7	£38	1199	£69	209
8	2	39	1495	70	936
9	2	40	5720	71	968
10	21	41	838	72	133
11	110	42	702	73	70
12	71	43	1243	74	51
13	112	44	903	75	63
14	29	45	1338	76	48
15	19	46	792	77	27
16	29	47	1045	78	92
17	45	48	1188	79	250
18	72	49	1170	80	94
19	46	50	2080	81	86
20	141	51	909	82	115
21	203	52	778	85	1
22	98	53	890	86	2
23	44	54	695	88	2
24	67	55	2043	100	3
25	31	56	755	108	1
26	16	57	282	110	2
27	34	58	1017	114	1
28	41	59	585	116	1
29	25	60	922	124	1
30	21	61	1323	125	2
31	23	62	518	135	2
32	51	63	840	145	1
33	18	64	506	155	1
34	54	65	326		
35	137	66	217		
36	533	67	868		
37	176	68	410		

APPENDIX 4.Calculation of the Relationship between House Assessment and Occupational Status: 1914.

Samples of 9049 and 2872 were drawn from the Valuation Rolls of 1914-15 for Edinburgh and Leith respectively. An attempt was made to cover wards and values proportionately but the absence of a complete record of occupational information made this difficult.

The data was entered on I.C.T. punchcards with house values being divided into the following twelve grades: £1 to £5, £6 to £10, £11 to £15, £16 to £20, £21 to £25, £26 to £30, £31 to £40, £41 to £50, £51 to £60, £61 to £75, £76 to £110, £111 and above. Occupations were classified into the five grades recognised in the 1921 Census of Employment. House occupancy characteristics were also entered and the results are presented in Chapter 3 Part 2. The grid obtained from the value-status analysis for Edinburgh is shown below. For this Pearson's product Moment Correlation was calculated. The same procedure was followed for the Leith data.

APPENDIX 4.

(contd.)

Edinburgh

<u>Value Status</u>	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	Total (Y)
0													
1				2	14	47	120	144	136	158	371	498	1490
2		18	86	227	280	507	629	316	177	184	174	99	2697
3	61	713	1163	949	367	276	71	7	1	1			3609
4	95	508	262	57	9	1							932
5	49	227	44	1									321
Total (X)	205	1466	1555	1236	670	831	820	467	314	343	545	597	9049

$x = X - \bar{X}$ where \bar{X} is the mean of the X values

$y = Y - \bar{Y}$ where \bar{Y} is the mean of the Y values.

Pearson's Product Moment Correlation Coefficient.

$$r = \frac{\sum xy}{\sqrt{\sum x^2 \sum y^2}}$$

$$= + 0.76.$$

APPENDIX 4.

(contd.)

Leith.

Value Status.	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	Total (Y)
0													
1					6	8	33	29	25	27	7	4	139
2		1	42	135	116	254	263	120	71	35	13		1050
3	10	246	399	335	59	49	5						1103
4	8	150	116	23	1								298
5	28	213	41										282
Total (X)	46	610	598	493	182	311	301	149	96	62	20	4	2872

$x = X - \bar{X}$ where \bar{X} is mean of X values

$y = Y - \bar{Y}$ where \bar{Y} is mean of Y values.

Pearson's Product Moment Correlation Coefficient

$$r = \frac{\sum xy}{\sqrt{\sum x^2 \sum y^2}}$$

$$= \underline{+ 0.73}$$

APPENDIX 5.

Valuation Characteristics of Houses in Photographs.

1. This engraving by Shepherd shows the residential character of George Street in the 1820's. Most of the houses were originally large terraced dwellings but by 1855 invasion by non residential land uses had the effect of fragmenting the structure creating many flatted properties in the middle assessment grades.
2. This engraving, also by Shepherd, of St. Andrews Square illustrates the residential character in the 1820's and the beginnings of commercial invasion in the shape of the bookshop.
5. Even today the character of the smaller terraced houses and flatted dwellings in the access streets can be discerned from this photograph of South Charlotte Street. In 1855, the terraced houses in this type of location were mostly in the upper value range of assessment Grade II.
- b. This shows the northern section of Charlotte Square including the substantial mansion Bute House. In 1855 and 1914 all of the houses in this section were large Grade I dwellings. At the latter date, most of them were assessed in excess of £200 per annum.
3. Drummond Place in the Northern Extension of the New Town in 1855 occupied an assessment status between Grades I and II. At that time, most of the houses were

terraced dwellings with only a few flatted properties in corner blocks. By 1914 however, subdivision had occurred and most houses were in assessment Grade II. In 1962, the range in house size meant that assessment varied from £60 to £150 with most houses being in assessment Grade III.

4. This engraving by Shepherd shows Moray Place in the 1820's. From its construction to 1962, this area played a prominent role in the Grade I residential structure.
7. This illustrates the houses in Ann Street, part of the Raeburn development. In 1855, the assessments ranged from £40 to £63. In 1914, almost identical valuations were recorded but by 1962 the same houses were assessed at between £80 and £114. Thus the houses were mostly in assessment Grade II in 1855 and 1962 but in Grade III in 1914.
8. Rankeillor Street is an example of a peripheral development of flatted houses in the 1855 pattern. At that time, most of the houses were assessed at between £14 and £32 (Grades III and IV). In 1914 the valuation range was £12 to £47 with most houses in Grade IV and in 1962, the street principally occupied the same assessment ranking with a few examples of Grade III and V houses.
- 9, 10, 11. These photographs illustrate the character of the Old Town district in the nineteenth century, showing the squalid housing conditions in this Grade V district.

12. This villa in Lauder Road which was erected in 1852 was an example of a Grade II suburban residence in 1855. In 1962 it was assessed at £112 and therefore represented a large Grade II residence.
13. Number 17 Lauder Road was also a Grade II residence in 1855 and in 1962 this house had a Gross Annual Valuation of £165 (Grade I) illustrating the increased importance of the larger suburban villas at the latter date.
14. The photograph shows four houses in Tantallon Place with a block of tenement flats in Sciennes Road in the background. These four villas were assessed at between £46 and £65 in 1914 and between £108 and £132 in 1962. Again they illustrate the increased importance of villas in the 1962 assessment structure, having changed from Grade III to Grade I/II during this period.
15. The terraced houses in Howard Place at Inverleith were Grade II/III in 1855, mostly Grade III in 1914 and Grade II/III in 1962. By the latter date, however, some were divided into flats and were on the margin between assessment Grades III and IV.
16. In 1855, the terraced houses in Saxe-Coburg Place were assessed at between £60 and £70 (Grade II). In 1914, the valuations ranged from £40 to £90 with the majority being in assessment Grade III whilst in 1962, subdivision into flatted properties complicated the structure with the few remaining terraced houses being in assessment Grades I and II and the flats in Grades II and III.

17. The photograph shows several late nineteenth century semi detached villas in Fountainhall Road, Grange. In 1914, these houses lay between assessment Grades II and III whilst in 1962 the semi detached dwellings were in Grade I. However a few had been subdivided into flatted properties in the Grade III assessment range.
18. This photograph shows number 39 and 39A Fountainhall Road. In 1914, this was one residence with an assessment of £70 (Grade II). By 1962, however, two flats each occupying one floor of the original dwelling existed and were respectively assessed at £80 and £104 (Grade III and Grade II).
- 19, 20. These photographs show the typical houses in the colonies which were developed between 1860 and 1890. These particular photographs illustrate the development beside the water of Leith at Stockbridge and in 1914 and 1962 all of the houses in this district were in the lowest assessment grade.
21. In 1914 both of these terraced houses in Murrayfield Gardens were assessed at £80 and occupied by solicitors. By 1962 they had a Gross Annual Valuation of £120 and as such were examples of the smallest Grade I houses at that period.
22. The good quality tenement houses in Findhorn Place, Grange were assessed at between £25 and £36 in 1914, the higher values being main door flats. In 1962 they were also predominantly Grade IV examples although the assessments ranged from £54 to £78 again main door flats having the higher valuations.

23. The tenement houses in Warrender Park Road illustrate the character of the Marchmont district. In 1914 and 1962 these were Grade IV dwellings, the respective assessment figures being £25 to £30 and £49 to £55.
24. This photograph shows the red sandstone terraced houses at Balgreen Road which in 1914 were assessed at between £33 and £40, most being in Grade IV. In 1962 the values ranged from £82 to £110 thereby spanning Grades II and III.
25. This photograph shows a section of the late nineteenth early twentieth century good quality tenement development on the grounds of Falcon Hall. In 1914 and 1962 the majority of these houses were in assessment Grade IV although a few had values at the lower end of Grade III.
26. The view from the tenements in Falcon Road was extremely attractive as this photograph shows with a southern outlook to the Braid Hills across a comparatively open area of green space and large gardened houses. In the middle distance another row of good quality tenements occurred in Woodburn Terrace.
27. The Falcon site was developed between 1890 and 1962 in three phases. This photograph shows the second tenement phase, built in the 1930's, which by 1962 was in assessment Grade IV.
28. The third phase at Falcon occurred early in the 1960's with the erection of a few blocks of flats such as the one in this photograph, Falcon Court. These houses spanned assessment Grades III and IV in 1962, and had a market value of £2,800 to £3,700.

29. The small flatted terraced houses at Glendevon Place, Saughton Hall, were assessed at between £18 and £25 in 1914 although there residents were mainly white collar workers. However the photograph illustrates the fact that these were comparatively small dwellings. In 1962, they had Gross Annual Valuations of £52 to £58 (Grade IV).
30. The small terraced houses at Craighouse Avenue were assessed at £28 to £32 (Grade IV) in 1914, and £70 to £77 (Grade III) in 1962.
31. These two houses in Almondbank Terrace, Ashley, were examples in 1914 and 1962 of Grade IV residences in a colony development.
32. The tenement houses in Gladstone Terrace, Sciennes, spanned assessment Grades IV and V in 1914 and 1962. As such, they were examples of intermediate flats being neither truly Grade IV or V.
33. The tenements at Cardlaw Street, Gorgie were Grade V examples in 1914 and 1962 being assessed at £3 to £12 and £22 to £28 respectively.
34. These tenement houses at Canonmills were another example of Grade V residences in the 1914 and 1962 structures.
35. The photograph illustrates the zone of industry and open land which separated the Northern Extension from the Canonmills district.
36. Church Lane originally a mews lane included a few Grade V houses in 1962. It marked the boundary between the Leray development and the Northern Extension of the New Town.

37. The tenement houses in Maxwell Street which adjoined the coal depot at Morningside Station were assessed at £14 to £27 in 1914 (Grades V and IV), but in 1962 they were all in Grade V (£26 to £43).
38. The tenement houses in Charles Street which adjoined George Square had Yearly Rentals between £1 and £22 in 1855 (Grades III, IV and V) but by 1962 the block shown in the photograph was in a serious state of disrepair and exemplified a poor quality old tenement at the lower end of the Grade V assessment range.
39. This photograph shows the complex variety of house types which occur in some locations. The tenement block was erected between 1885 and 1914 and at the latter date the flatted residences had assessments of £26 to £33 (Grade IV). They were in the same grade in 1962. The terraced houses were approximately contemporaneous and were valued at £30 to £32 in 1914 (Grade IV) but were in Grade III in 1962. Subsequently bungalows have infilled the remaining plots on this steeply sloping site and, in 1962, these houses were in assessment Grades I and II.
40. No. 73 Braid Avenue was assessed at £182 in 1914 (Grade I) and £215 in 1962 (Grade I).
41. No. 16 Hermitage Drive was assessed at £180 in 1914 and £240 in 1962, Grade I in both cases.
42. No. 187 Mayfield Road had an assessment of £195 in 1962.
43. No. 89 Ravelston Dykes was valued at £220 in 1962.

44. No. 46 Frogston Road West was assessed at £170 in 1962.
45. This photograph shows a twentieth century mansion (Grade I) at Cammo.
46. This is a view of the rear of a Grade I modern villa in Cammo Crescent (Queensferry Road).
47. No. 22 Braid Mount illustrates an early 1960's villa, value £104 (Grade II) in 1962.
48. Nos. 79 and 81 are inter-war semi-detached villas in Grange Loan. In 1962 they were assessed at £108 and £110 respectively (Grade II).
49. No. 54 Glasgow Road illustrates a comparatively large inter-war bungalow, value £96 in 1962.
50. This photograph shows a post 1945 bungalow in Craigs Road, Corstorphine. It is slightly larger than the average size and occupied a large corner site. As a result it was in assessment Grade II in 1962 but this was atypical of the street and the locality in general.
51. This photograph illustrates the flatted villas erected in the 1930's, in this case at Carrick Knowe. There are four houses in the block all valued at £50 in 1962.
52. These are local authority flatted houses at Chesser Avenue, one of the first Council schemes in the 1920's. These were spacious dwellings and in 1962 ranged from £61 to £80 in assessment. The Town Council had allowed tenants to purchase these dwellings in the 1930's and one of the four houses in the photograph was owner-occupied in 1962.

53. This photograph illustrates a typical local authority flatted block of the 1930-1939 period. It was located at Stevenson Drive and contained twelve dwellings with assessments of £43 to £55 in 1962.
54. This shows an early 1960's five storey local authority block in the Clermiston scheme. Assessments ranged from £38 to £73.

APPENDIX 6.

Interviews with Housebuilders.

In 1964/65 a number of open interviews were conducted with house builders of the 1920-1962 period. The results are summarised here and the opinions expressed are those of senior executives in the respective companies. Current sale prices refer to 1964/65 values.

1. Hepburn Brothers

This firm started housebuilding in 1930 with an estate at Craigentinny. Subsequently they erected bungalow developments at Greenbank, Kingsknowe, Juniper Green and Glasgow Road/Craigs at Corstorphine. Their brochure provided details of house plans and prices and described the estates as follows:

"Greenbank, at Morningside, enjoying a view of the lovely Pentland Hills"; Craigentinny, near Portobello where Seaside Bungalows command an uninterrupted view of the Firth of Forth";

The house types ranged from three apartment bungalows at £670 to six apartment bungalows and villas at £1500. A four apartment bungalow, costing £735, built at Kingsknowe, Corstorphine, Juniper Green or Craigentinny, consisted of a sitting room (14'6" x 13'6"), living room (14'0" x 13'6"), bedroom (13'6" x 10'6") Bedroom (12' x 12'), bathroom, kitchenette (10'7 x 7'6") with store, pantry and larder, and vestibule and hall.

A six apartment villa costing £1450 in the inter war period consisted of: downstairs, lounge (15' x 13'), living room (15' x 13'), bedroom (11' x 11') bedroom (11'x10') kitchen (11' x 11', hall and vestibule, and upstairs, two bedrooms (15' x 13') and bathroom.

Some measure of the changes in house values is provided by the fact that bungalows which sold for £600 to £800 in the 1930's fetched about £1400 in the late 1940's and by 1964 were being transacted for more than £5000.

The development to the north of Glasgow Road was only a quarter of its projected size when the outbreak of war in 1939 caused a cessation of house building. In the late 1940's, Edinburgh Corporation compulsorily purchased twenty seven acres of the site at Clermiston where Hepburns had intended to build 250 bungalows. In addition, the company encountered difficulties with the planning department who vetoed a scheme to complete the Craig's project by erecting further "standard" bungalows of fifty five foot plot frontage. Instead, Hepburns were compelled to increase the frontage to sixty five to seventy feet and, as a result, they built a more elaborate bungalow with a higher selling price in order to maintain their intended profit ratio. The company considered that all of their sites were aimed at the same clientele, the middle class.

2. T. W. Anderson.

The firm was established in 1904 and engaged in small residential speculations at Willowbrae including the erection of flatted villas and terraced houses such as those in Kenmure Avenue. Between 1927 and 1930, they built thirty six stone fronted flatted villas at Barascourt Terrace, the upper floor houses being five apartment and the ground floor

four apartment dwellings with selling prices of £850 and £800 respectively. By 1964, these houses were selling for more than £3,800. Between 1930 and 1933, twelve five apartment bungalows were built at Durham Road. Mr. Anderson stressed the attractive qualities of the sites, particularly their rural attributes adjoining respectively playing fields and farm land at the time of development. However the company ceased house building at this period and has subsequently concentrated on repair work.

3. Thomas Sutherland Henderson

This company was one of the most influential in the 1920 to 1939 period. Their first scheme at Blackhall was started in 1924 and this was followed by other developments at Joppa, Comiston and Corstorphine. All the sites were in peripheral locations but in areas with at least a skeletal suburban framework. Mr. Henderson stressed the importance of acceptable feuing terms and good building ground in his developmental decisions. He also observed that land superiors were very willing to feu at this period. At Blackhall, the feu cost £25 per acre with the superior building the sewerage system whilst, at Joppa, the feu duty was £50 per acre. However, as Mr. Henderson pointed out, feu duties of this order had little effect on house price since the cost was spread between seven or eight houses and thus amounted to about £4 per house. The range of house type and price was limited, most selling for between £650 and £750. He considered that this price category attracted citizens just

below the middle class. He did develop some larger houses at Blackhall but found little demand for these between 1930 and 1938 and consequently concentrated on four and five apartment houses. Interestingly, he commented that in the late 1930's there was a renewed demand for six apartment bungalows. By 1964, all of the bungalows erected by this firm were selling for more than £4000 and some of the larger examples were fetching as much as £6000.

4. J. B. Alexander, Ltd.

This small company started at Liberton in 1900 and built exclusively in that district. As the following list shows, the company was a good example of small housebuilder erecting a few dwellings at a time.

34-50 Kirk Brae	1910-12
much of Liberton Drive	1922-30's
(2 or 3 houses per year)	
2 houses in Blackbarony Road	1926
4 houses in Mayfield Road	1925
Tenement of Liberton Drive and few houses on Liberton Brae.	
All of Park Cres., Gdns & Grove	1930's
finished by	1935
55-61 Mt.Vernon Road	1930's
Rankin Road southside	1930's
Esselement Road south side	1930's
part of Hallhead Road northside	1930's
part of Ross Road northside	1930's
38-45 part of Esslemont Road southside	1950's
6-18 Rankin Road northside	1960-65

These houses were all intended as middle class semi-detached and detached villas. One feature of which the company was particularly proud was the fact that many were still occupied by the original owners.

The building manager estimated that houses had appreciated fourfold since 1930's. Most houses which were priced at about £1100 when built in the 1930's were now selling at £4,000+

One house in Blackbarony Road built for J.B. Alexander was valued at approximately £1,500 when built and recently sold for approximately £9,000.

The post war Esslemont Road houses sold at £3,500 in 1958 and £4,500 in 1965.

However, an elderly employee of the company expressed the opinion that the Liberton area was "drooping" in social character and attributed this in part to the high repair costs of the houses.

5. Ford and Torrie, founded around 1928, started by

building a few bungalows in the Craigentenny area. They leased the ground from the Abercorn Estate and part of the agreement was that the Abercorn Estate Co. would pay for the construction of roads and sewers. They paid this in advance (in money) and this provided the capital to start the firm off in building. On that site they built 3 and 4 apartment bungalows 1928-30, which sold at £350-400.

The second site they obtained was leased from the same company and this was the Durham area bounded by Duddingston Road and Milton Road. They developed this site from 1932-39 and in all 300-900 bungalows were built.

The superiors again paid for the construction of roads and sewers. In 1933 a bungalow in Durham Square sold at £750; most of houses were in £600-£750 price range.

The third area they developed was a smaller site at Glendevon Road and Ba1lgreen Road. They built there in 1938-39, about 40-50 flatted or semi detached villas. They bought this site and imposed their own feu duty; these houses sold at around £500. Earlier there had been a small development at Baronscourt Road, again on the Abercorn Estate, of 18 semi detached bungalows built in 1932.

Another development in the interwar period started in 1935 at Marionville where, on the site between Meadowbank stadium and the Lochend council estate, they built approximately 100 houses, semi detached villas and bungalows. Because of bad amenity due to proximity to St. Margerets railway yard and the council housing estate, they were more modest houses selling at £350-450 and were aimed at a rather lower social group than the Durham scheme.

In 1936 a further portion of the Abercorn Estate at Meadowfield Terrace and Avenue was developed by the firm. Here they built slightly larger bungalows because of the good amenity of the site, the selling price being £750-800. Immediately adjacent to this development, Ford and Torrie also built most of the houses in Duddingston Road West. Because of the excellent amenity of this site there was a more substantial feu duty and this combined with the attractiveness of the site encouraged the firm to build a more varied individual type of house costing up to £1,500.

The firm also built a number of houses at

Greenbank and a few made to measure houses of extremely exclusive quality at Ravelston and Queensferry Road. In particular Mr. Ford recalled two examples: 1. A house built for an Edinburgh bookmaker which is at the junction of Queensferry Road and Orchard Road south and cost approximately £8,000 in the interwar period. 2. The house of the owner of the Maybury Roadhouse which lay next to the public library on Hillhouse Road and cost £5,000.

The firm built several houses of this nature in this area.

The immediate post-war developments were continuations upon land which was feued prior to 1940. The first of these was the completion of the Duddingston Area and Southfield Gardens, by the erection of a row of 20 continuous villas, which were built in 1947 for renting. However, by 1949 the market allowed the return to the construction of bungalows for sale and this site was developed from 1950-53 with a further 60-70 bungalows. In 1950 these cost £2,100 and by 1953, £2,200.

In 1953, the firm continued the Meadowfield development, erecting 70-80 houses selling at £2,225. In 1954, the firm erected 3 apartment semi detached villas, 16 in all, at Southfield Farm Grove, which sold at £1,925. One prewar site had remained within their Durham development. This had been the property of Lady Nairn and in 1956 the firm bought this site and developed the 50-60 4-5 apartment bungalows of Southfield Square. The selling price ranging from £2,550 to £3,200; this development was completed in 1959.

They also took over a site on the North side of

of Duddingston Road which the Abercorn Estate had feued originally to another speculator who had subsequently gone out of business. Ford and Torrie then feued the site and between 1957-60 they erected 75 semi detached bungalows. These were 3 apartment houses which sold at £2,200-2,300.

The Abercorn Estate then offered the firm the Woodlands site which lay to the south of Duddingston Road West. This site had very high amenity and the company built 22 bungalows which contained a range of size and price but all had the assets of central heating fitted kitchens and washing machines etc. This development occurred 1959-60 and the following is a detailed list of the selling prices.

£3950	£4250	£4500	£6785	£4200	£3700
6000	5250	3850	4700	4250	3950
3700	5000	4000	5500	5250	3700
4250	6600	4000	4100		

As an example, a £6,000 house contained 7 apartments, large garden and double garage. These houses attracted a cluster of professional people including two lawyers, three doctors, two N.C.B. managers.

In 1960 Ford and Torrie were approached by the Abercorn Estate and offered a small site in Mountcastle Drive South, immediately next to the Council Bingham scheme. Because of the bad amenity, the company advertised their proposed type of development before accepting the ground. The response was so promising and the ground so cheap that they decided to proceed with building. They built 3 bungalows selling at £2,400 (3 apartment) £2750 (4 apartment) £2,300 (3 apartment) and 9 semi detached villas. In many ways this development was analogous with

the prewar Marionville scheme.

Starting in 1961 on a purchased site at Lasswade Road opposite Liberton hospital, they erected ten houses, ⁷ the 3 apartment bungalows sold for £2,800 and 4 apartment for £2,960. These house types were identical to those at Hamilton Drive which in 1953 had sold at £2,300. The main stimulant to develop this site was the very cheap price asked by the hospital board.

Finally the company bought at public auction a site at Winton Terrace, Fairmilehead, for four houses at a price of £3,000, from Trotter of Mortonhall. They were approached to build two houses on adjacent ground which was owned by private individuals and because of the ground cost and the expense of road development, combined with the requirements imposed by Trotter, that the minimum selling price be £6,000 and the prewar character be retained, these two houses cost more than £10,500 each. As a result Ford and Torrie are only slowly developing their own site, because in addition to the £3,000 purchase price they have spent £4,000 on road development. And this must be recovered in the selling price of the house. They have finished one house which will probably sell at £3,500. But because of the present mortgage problems it is unlikely that the scheme will be completed in the near future. The feu in this area is £98 per acre. Mr. Ford estimated that to repeat a prewar Winton house today would cost £20,000 and he suggested that any tenant selling would contemplate a figure of this order. Prior to 1939 the firm was 90% private house building 10% contract, whereas today they are 99.0% contract work 1% house building. The main reason is

that since the late 1950's the acute land shortage in Edinburgh has formed up prices and produced the situation where the speculator must invest a vast sum of money to purchase a site. He would require to borrow this money and pay interest and since it is doubtful whether he would even commence building at the end of the first year because of planning restrictions and procedure he would in fact pay full interest on the whole loan for at least two years before he was able to sell a house. Mr. Ford was unwilling to adopt this course.

6. A. Thain Ltd.

In 1934, the company commenced residential development at Strachan Gardens of "subsidy" bungalows which sold for £600. Mr. Thain explained that a Housing Subsidy had been introduced early in the 1920's whereby a builder received £125 if he constructed a bungalow of two bedrooms, two other rooms, bathroom and kitchen of floor area 800 square feet (or 830 sq.ft. for a villa) at a selling price of £600. This was designed to assist the owner occupant after the war and the depressed economic situation. In 1932 the subsidy was reduced to £50 and it terminated in 1934. At a site on the north side of Oxfangs Road which they considered to be a very attractive location, the company erected fifty large bungalows price range £900 to £1000. They then took a site at Sighthill (western section) and over a period of four years, they erected approximately five hundred flatted houses. This scheme was not subsidised, but the Local Authority financed the project, laying down regulations about house type and also restrictions about rent and sale. Feu

duty per house paid to the Council was 15/- per annum which rose to £3 when houses were put up for sale after the period of twenty years.

Thain were able to start operations quite quickly in the post 1945 period by undertaking some Local Authority projects. However the first private residential development started in the early 1950's with the erection of twenty houses at Buckstane, price range £2700 to £2800.

Subsequently they have also developed sites at Cramond, Colinton and Pristfield. At Woodhall Bank, Colinton, the land was feued from the Merchant Company of Edinburgh who imposed stringent conditions. At Munro Drive, for example, they prescribed a maximum of six houses per acre which effectively escalated the selling price of the houses. Thains thought that only the developments at Winton Terrace, Fairmilehead and Braidmount had comparable stringent feuing regulations. However the speculations were apparently successful for Mr. Thain expressed considerable regret that he had been outbid by Messrs. MacTaggart and Mickel for the Bonaly Farm site at Colinton which was also owned by the Merchant Company. He also commented that in the 1930's land was readily available in terms of price and that most superiors were very willing to feu.

7. G. Wimpey and Co.

This national house building company entered the Scottish market in the 1950's. As a result of this late date of entry, they have had great difficulty acquiring land for residential developments. However they have succeeded in erecting a number of schemes and these are

listed below:

- 1959 Corstorphine Hill Scheme I Seventy five apartment villas.
- 1963 Corstorphine Hill Scheme II Three hundred and fifty link houses; (5 apartment). This post dates the period analyses.
- 1957-58. 350 houses in the Swanston Scheme at Fairmilehead.
- 1955-50 190 houses in the Redford scheme.

The company has also been responsible for a very substantial proportion of the residential development in the areas immediately outwith the City boundary. At Currie, for example, between 1959 and 1961, they erected just over eleven hundred private houses.

The representative interviewed stated that the company conduct market research into the nature of the demand for houses in a region and then attempt to supply this demand. They evaluate potential sites, examine the development of their competitors and assess the general economic state of an area and the future of the potential sites. He considered that their schemes contained a range of house types and prices in an attempt to cater for as wide a market as possible.

8. MacTaggart and Mickel

The company started house building in Edinburgh in 1933. Along with A. Thain, they were the principal developers of the flatted villa schemes of the 1930's. However, they also built small schemes of larger villas during that period and have featured prominently in the post 1950 residential developments. Their first project

involved seventy five terraced houses at Willowbrae which sold for £750 each. Contemporaneously, they commenced the flatted villa scheme at Pilton which totalled one thousand dwellings (the background to this type of project has already been explained in the interview with A. Thain). Between 1935 and 1939, they also built eleven hundred and fifty flatted villas at Carrickknowe and nine hundred and fifty at Colinton Mains. The main example of their larger villas were thirty detached houses at Hillpark which had an initial selling price in the late 1930's of £1210. Between 1946 and 1965, a further hundred and twenty villas were added to this development. The Company built two further estates of six and seven apartment houses in the early 1960's at Bonaly and Cammo. In addition, they developed an estate of eight hundred and sixty, three and four apartment terraced and semi-detached houses between 1955 and 1960 at Broomhall, adjoining the Carrickknowe scheme.

They also developed two intermediate range schemes at Silverknowes and Calystane.

They stressed the importance of owning undeveloped land in the 1930's in terms of post 1945 development. Moreover other companies commented that MacTaggart and Mickel and James Miller had a distinct advantage because of the large areas which they had purchased at 1930 prices and developed with houses which were sold at 1950 to 1960 prices.

9. James Miller & Son.

They began construction in 1930 of a small development of bungalows and flatted villas at Willowbrae where 3-apartment dwellings sold for £375 and four apartment for £450.

Subsequently they erected small estates at Belmont, Riverside, Northfield and Mountcastle, and infilled a few tracts in older suburban developments as at Plewlands Gardens. In the post 1945 period they have developed schemes at Longstone, Frogston Craigleith, and Barnton Park. The firm admitted that they had benefited appreciably from foresight in purchasing large tracts of land at low cost in the 1930's.

In the post war period, they have also continued to infill tracts either with estates of semi detached houses as at Orchard Brae or with blocks of flats such as those at Falcon Road West, Queenspark Court and Almond Court, Barnton.

The Company considered that their house price variations reflected differences in amenity, land costs and feuing restrictions. In particular, they felt that modern blocks of flats offered the prospect of reasonably priced houses and also catered for a sector of the market which had been neglected in the post 1920 developments.

APPENDIX 7.Relationship of House Sale Price and Gross Annual Valuation:1962.

<u>Location</u>	<u>Selling Price</u>	<u>G.A.V.</u>
Bryson Road	£550	£29-34
Colinton Mains Place	1300	51
Swan Spring Avenue	2800	74
Barnshot Road	8500	150
Grange Loan Gardens	5755	136
Rochester Terrace	1550	44-56
Gibbs Entry	300	26
Warrender Park Road	3000	78
Montague Street	700	32
West Saville Terrace	3600	86
Ramsay Gardens	7000	136
Polwarth Terrace	3150	88
Minto Street	3500	110
Munro Drive	5300	114
East Preston Street	1000	65
Falcon Road West	2800	62
Dalkeith Road	1800	51
St. Albans Road	5800	120
St. Leonards Bank	1000	49
Gibson Terrace	300	21
Briarbank Terrace	1800	52
Braid Road	4500	120
5th Oxford Street	1550	43
Clerk Street	1100	37
Plewlands Avenue	2700	73

APPENDIX 7.

(Contd..)

<u>Location</u>	<u>Selling Price</u>	<u>G.A.V.</u>
Dreghorn Loan	£3850	£96
Roxburgh Street	700	36
Warrender Park Terrace	1530	53
Marchmont Crescent	550	46
St. Peters Place	320	21
Comiston Place	2000	52
Falcon Court	3600	72
Churchhill Place	1550	41
Abercorn Road	2100	88
Temple Park Crescent	1300	38-50
Murrayfield Road	6500	114
Spottiswoode Street	2820	56
Woodburn Terrace	2400	56
Seton Place	4500	78
Springvalley Terrace	950	29
Mayfield Road	5500	144
Barnton Avenue	8250	170
Greenbank Road	3055	73
Cammo Crescent	10,000	170
Hailes Street	1800	64
Charterhall Grove	2300	54
Frogston Terrace	5321	110
Morningside Road	1175	48
Jordan Lane	1805	51
Balcarres Street	1200	38
Fountainbridge	300	24
Moncrieff Terrace	950	24

APPENDIX 7

(contd...)

<u>Location</u>	<u>Selling Price</u>	<u>G.A.V.</u>
Murdoch Terrace	£210	£21
Merchiston Crescent	2805	58
Bonaly Place	950	48
Seton Place	6190	142
Queens Crescent	5000	124
Parkgrove Road	5500	92
Buckstone Terrace	4500	114
Colinton Road	3000	124
Springvalley Gardens	1510	38
Craiglockhart Bank	3200	70
Watson Crescent	230	24
Falcon Avenue	2610	58
Marchmont Crescent	1900	49
Colinton Mains Road	1855	56
Tay Street	1010	29
Craiglea Drive	3200	104
Thirlestane Road	1850	76
Braid Avenue	7650	156
Greenhill Terrace	5250	92
Fountainhall Road	8010	170
Liberton Drive	4800	130
Salisbury Road	5235	160
Comiston Gardens	1275	40-50
Viewforth Terrace	4500	100
Greenbank Park	4000	84
Pentland Terrace	4600	112
Buccleuch Street	725	32

APPENDIX 7.

(contd...)

<u>Location</u>	<u>Selling Price</u>	<u>G.A.V.</u>
Swanston Gardens	£3650	£79
Bramdean Rise	4500	88
Churchhill	8850	185
Swan Spring Avenue	2800	75
Eva Place	2250	68
Cammo Grove	5200	106
Rankeillor Street	1515	43-58
Almondbank Terrace	1900	48
Spylawbank Road	5750	116
Elliot Road	2900	70
Falcon Avenue	3005	56
Lutton Place	1400	44
Priestfield Grove	3300	71
Grange Road	5030	90
Morningside Place	3600	68
Fernielaw Avenue	5500	106
Blackford Road	7007	90
Marchfield Grove	10,000	165
Ravelston Dykes	8000	134
Succoth Gardens	4000	96
Glendevon Terrace	2110	57
Wilton Road	15,100	210
Glasgow Road	4500	100
Greenbank Crescent	6000	112
Hillview Road	4505	98
Craighouse Avenue	2800	72
Colinton Road	10,000	170

APPENDIX 7.

(contd.)

<u>Location</u>	<u>Selling Price</u>	<u>G.A.V.</u>
Northumberland Street	£2550	£74
Westhall Gardens	4000	102
Dick Place	5250	126
Observatory Road	5500	120
Gordon Terrace	6750	114
Nelson Street	3000	82
Learmonth Court	3160	86
Denham Green Terrace	3500	102
Bangholm Road	2100	76
Ferry Road	5800	165
Clark Avenue	2500	77
Howard Place	2950	94
Warriston Avenue	2800	74
Heriothill Terrace	400	25
Eyre Place	1400	55
Inverleith Place	6000	128
Wardie Road	4900	134
Thorburn Road	3500	96
House O'Hill Avenue	4027	110
Clackmae Road	3500	73
Cochran Terrace	1260	40
Nile Grove	6450	120
Landsdowne Crescent	4200	90
West Relugas Road	2750	73
Drummond Place	3000	65
Gamekeepers Road	8500	130
Hartington Place	2575	88

APPENDIX 7.

(contd.)

<u>Location</u>	<u>Selling Price</u>	<u>G.A.V.</u>
York Road	£4250	£94
Saughtonhall Terrace	2800	71
Braid Hills Avenue	6150	130
Ryehill Terrace	2150	59
Dickson Street	925	28
Beaverhall Road	450	21
Mountcastle Drive North	2650	73
Marionville Avenue	2300	55
Montpelier Park	2300	54
Ormidale Terrace	4160	122
Craiglockhart Grove	5855	114
Barnshot Road	10,025	175

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